MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES.

Baltimore, December, 1898.

FROISSART'S PASTOURELLES.

THE poetical works of Jean Froissart, the chronicler, are contained in the MSS. 830 and 831 du fonds français de la Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, MSS. which formerly bore the numbers 7214 and 7215.

Among the poems to which these manuscripts are entirely consecrated are twenty which bear the name of *Pastourelles*.

MS. 830 contains nineteen of these poems with the superscription: "Ci apres sensieuent pastourelles," and at the end: "Explicit pastourelles." MS. 831 contains fourteen, of which thirteen correspond to those of MS. 830, one being found in 831 alone, thus completing the number of twenty. The superscription in 831 is: "Chi sensieuent grant fuison de pastourielles."

Bartsch, in the Anhang to his Allfr. Romanzen u. Pastourellen, Leipzig, 1870, printed eight of these poems "um die weitere Entwicklung dieser beliebten Gattung (der Pastourelle) im 14. Jahrhundert anschaulich zu machen." Scheler, in his complete edition of Froissart's poems¹, which so worthily concludes Baron Kervyn de Lettenhove's great edition of the historical writings, reproduces these poems under the same heading: Pastourelles.² Now, the purpose of this paper is to show that these so-called Pastourelles are, according to their form, nothing more or less than Chants Royaux: a fact which the writer believes to have been hitherto overlooked.

If one regarded the contents alone, one might be content with the traditional designation; yet even here I find an additional proof of my contention. It will suffice for the indication of the character of these poems to quote a passage from Scheler's Introduction:3

"La pastourelle de Froissart sort tout à fait du caractère ordinaire de ce genre poëtique; les bergers et les bergères en sont encore les principaux personnages, et la formule sacramentelle 'l'autrier' et 'l'autre jour' n'y est nullement négligée, mais il ne s'agit plus de

1 Brussels, 1870, 1871.

2 Vol. ii, pp. 306-352.

3 Vol. i, p. lii.

chevaliers courtisant des pastoures ou de rustres bergers dupés ou dupant. Le sujet s'est annobli; tantôt nous sommes transportés au milieu des ébats ou des petites querelles innocentes de la gent champêtre; tantôt c'est un évènement politique, une alliance nobiliaire, un grand personnage livrés à l'appréciation grotesque ou aux impressions vives et naïves des tousettes et touseaux."

"Le sujet s'est annobli;" this summarizes the argument to be derived from the contents. The subject treated by the Chant Royal is always, in accordance with the stately rhythm of the form, a lofty one.

As to the form of these "Pastourelles," Scheler merely says:

"Quant à la facture, nous remarquons que toutes se composent de cinq strophes et d'un envoi de 5 vers; la longueur des strophes varie entre 11 (2 pièces), 12 (5), 14 (7) et 16 (6) vers."

Bartsch does not investigate the form.

The Chant Royal, as written by later poets, of whom Clement Marot is taken by modern writers on versification (for example, De Banville) as the model, consists of five eleven-lined stanzas in decasyllabic metre with refrain, and envoi of five lines closing likewise with refrain. The rhyme-order is ababccddedE; envoi ddedE.

This, however, was the final development of the form. Like the Ballade, of which it is a variety, it passed through different phases of transformation before becoming thus fixed. Thus Eustache Deschamps in his Art de Dictier, 1392,5 seems to understand under the name Chant Royal (Chançon Royal) a poem in five ballade-strophes. Henri de Croy (=Molinet) in his L'Art et Science de rhéthorique pour faire rigmes et ballades, 1493,7 mentions it en passant, but with sufficient clearness:

4 Vol. ii, p. 464.

5 Œuvres complètes, publ. pour la Société des anciens textes français par Gaston Raynaud, Paris, 1878-94, vol. vii, p. 278.

6 He speaks of it in passing, à propos of the envoi: "Item, en la dicte balade a envoy. Et ne les souloit faire anciennement fors es chançons royaulx, qui estoient de 5 couples, chascune couple de x., xi., ou xii. vers; et de tant se puevent bien faire et non pas de plus, par droicte regle." He goes on to speak ef the envey of five lines, which must begin with the traditional word Prince.

7 Reprinted by Silvestre, 1830.

"Champt Royal se recorde aux Puys où se donnent couronnes et chapaulx à ceux qui mieux le sçavent le faire; et se faict à refrain, comme Ballades, mais y a cinq couplets et envov."

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How vague and various were the opinions regarding the Chant Royal of the early theorists on versification will be evident from a perusal of Langlois, *De artibus rhetoricæ rhythmicæ*, Parisiis, 1890, who gives accounts of all such artes from Deschamps to the Renaissance.

Prior to and contemporaneously with Froissart, poems were written which show the Chant Royal in a still flexible form; thus in the works of Adam de la Halle may be found several which correspond to the above definitions in so far as they are written in five balladestrophes. I will refer to three reproduced by Nicole de Margival in Le Dit de la Panthère d'Amours, 1328,8 in which the stanzas contain from seven to nine verses of from four to ten syllables. Examples by Deschamps show the ten-lined and eight-lined strophe, with envoi

of four or six verses.

Now Froissart himself has left us six Chansons Roiaus which appear in Scheler.9 Froissart's own Chants Royaux are, it is interesting to note, not more exact examples of this form as compared with Marot's models than his so-called Pastourelles. They are, it is true, written in decasyllabic metre, but they lack the refrain, a distinctive feature of the regular Chant Royal, and one of them contains ten lines in each of its strophes instead of eleven; while the envoi varies between three and five verses.

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I proceed now to a closer examination of the form of Froissart's Pastourelles:

Each poem has five stanzas and closes with a five-lined envoi.

The *envois* (except of vi, viii and xiv, which have "Belles") begin with the traditional word "Princes."

The measure throughout is the vers octosyllabe. The rhymes are as follows:

1. ababccddedE:

2. ababbccddedE:

3. ababbccddeefeF:

4. ababbccddeeffgfG:

Pastourelles ii, iv.

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i, iii, vi, xiv, xx.

v, viii, xv, xvi, xvii, xviii, xix.

vii, ix, x, xi, xii, xiii.

Each envoi is, formally, a repetition of the last five verses of the strophe of the poem to which it belongs; thus ddedE, eefeF, ffgfG. Now, the rhyme-order of the first division (Past. ii, iv) is exactly that of the perfect Chant Royal as written by Marot and as followed by Froissart himself, in five out of six of his own Chants Royaux.

It needs but a glance at the other divisions to see that they are very simple expansions of the first. The expansion is graduated in the above order. Thus 2. has one additional brhyme inserted after the first quatrain; 3. expands the e-rhyme into a couplet, and adds two verses on a sixth rhyme: f. with a third e-rhyme between them to preserve the character of the strophe; 4. enlarges ddeefeF into ddeeffgfG. These modifications are all along the lines of the original rhyme-arrangement and admirably preserve the character and effect of the Chant Royal strophe. A striking

proof that Froissart felt these longer strophes in the same way as the original eleven-lined stanza, I find in the fact that the *envoi* is always written as if for the eleven-lined strophe; namely, with five verses. And a fact of prime importance in connection with the poems under discussion is that in Marot's own works is included a Chant Royal in thirteen-lined stanzas, with *envoi* of six verses.¹⁰

It follows that the only substantial point of difference between the Chant Royal and Froissart's Pastourelle is the choice of the octosyllabic instead of the decasyllabic metre. I may be allowed the conjecture that this choice was influenced by the nature of the contents; the Pastourelle is traditionally a light and graceful poem to which the stately epic line is less adapted naturally. On the other hand, without increasing the list of examples, both Deschamps and Adam de la Halle have

⁸ Ed. Todd, Société des anciens textes français, Paris, 2883, pp. 40, 93, 96.

⁹ Vol. ii, pp. 352-365.

¹⁰ Œuvres Complites de Clément Marot. Paris, Rapilly, 1824, Vol. iii, p. 492 ff.

utilized this metre for their (as compared with the final development of the form) less rigorous Chants Royaux. And this deviation, if it still be regarded as one, is certainly not as serious as those which Froissart shows in the poems by himself designated Chants Royaux; namely, the omission of the refrain, the use (in one instance) of the ten-lined ballade strophe, and the variation in the number of verses contained in the *envoi*.

The writer believes that he has conclusively shown that, while from the nature of their contents, the designation of Pastourelle for these poems may, perhaps, be justified, they are, according to form, true Chants Royaux.

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A CHAUCERIAN EXPRESSION.

THE oath between Palamon and Arcite in Chaucer's Knight's Tale is as follows (A 1133-1125):

That never, for to dyen in the peyne,
Til that the deeth departe shal us tweyne,
Neither of us in love to hindren other.

Tyrwhitt remarks that, in Froissart V. i. c 206, "Edward III declares that he will not return 'jusques a tant qu'il auroit fin de guerre, ou paix à sa suffisaunce, ou à sa grand honneur: ou il mourroit en la peine.'" The same commentator referred to the Romaunt of the Rose, (3326-3328):

Me were lever dye in the peyne, Than love to me-ward shulde arette Falsheed, or tresoun on me sette.

Also in Anelida and Arcite (286-288) a similar expression occurs:

For God so wisly on my soule rewe,
As verily ye sleen me with the peyne;
and, when Theseus has heard Palamon's confession, he says (A 1746-1747):

"It nedeth night to pyne you with the corde Ye shul be deed, by mighty Mars the rede!"

It has occurred to me that all these passages may refer to the peine forte et dure, also called la grant penaunce, a cruel method used for making contumacious prisoners plead in court. The mention of a charge of treason in the Romaunt assists this hypothesis. Many prisoners charged of treason died of the torture inflicted on them, rather than plead and run risk of conviction and consequent confiscation of the property that would descend to

their heirs if the prisoners remained unconvicted. I have found, however, no reference to a "cord" in the infliction of this particular penalty. That the passages refer to torture to extort confession is obvious or possible, unless in the case from Froissart. It is an interesting figure if Anelida means that Arcite torments her to death in order to make her plead her love; although the phrase may have passed from metaphor into idiom, and lost its original color.

The best account of la peine forte et dure is found in an article by Prof. Thayer in the Harvard Law Review, vol. v, p. 269. Two quotations from published documents will furnish sufficient illustration for present purposes:

To a certain knight who refuses either to plead or to accept his jurors, the Justice says: "Domine Hugo, si vos consentire velitis in eis (the jurors), Deo mediante, ipsi operabuntur pro vobis si vos consentire volueritis in eis. Et si vos velitis legem communem refutare, vos portabitis poenam inde ordinatam, scilicet, 'uno die manducabitis, et alio die bibebitis; et die quo bibitis non manducabitis, et e contra; et manducabitis de pane ordeaceo et non salo, et aqua, etc.,' multa exponens sibi unde non esset bonum morari per ibi sed melius valeret consentire in eis."—Year Book Edw. 1, 30-31, p. 521.

p. 531.

"Un Jon fut attache et baille a un dizeyn a garder a turn de vicomte, ne fut pas a cele oure endite; cely Johan quant il fut issi baille en garde le dizeyn e sen alast; le doze jurors a cel oure quiderent qil ne seyt pas mester de ly enditer, e pur ceo que a lour enditement quiderent qil ut este pris e en garde de vicomte, par quei eux ne luy enditunt poynt. Cesti Jon fut pris apres e mene devant Justices, et fut aresne de plusors felonyes, et il se fit mut e ne voleyt respundre; par quei il agarde a la graunt penance (translated on opposite page; peine forte et dure)." Ibidem, p. 503. For discription of pressing see Fleta.

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GOETHES HOMUNKULUS.1

(Schluss.)

Diese Wiederverkörperlichung ist eine auf künstlichem Wege hervorgebrachte. Das daraus entstehende künstliche Dasein der

1 Note. In the first part of this article, Mod. Lang. Notes, xiii, col. 442, l, 48, read Melodien for Methoden; col. 443, ll. 3 f., read Systole for Symbole; ibid. ll. 30 f., read Hereinspielen for Hexenspiel. Helena und der Ihrigen hat zum Gegensatz das natürliche Dasein, wie es einst die historische Helena in Sparta und in Troja besessen hatte. Das künstliche Dasein ist jedoch kein Gegensatz zum wirklichen Dasein. Wirklichkeit kommt auch dem künstlichen Dasein im vollsten Masse zu-in dieser Thatsache stimmen natürliches und künstliches Dasein durchaus überein. Von dieser künstlichen Art ihres Daseins haben die Wiederverkörperten ein deutliches Bewusstsein. Der Chor weiss sehr gut, dass er schon in der Unterwelt war; Helena wird höhnisch von Mephistopheles darauf hingewiesen und kommt sich in Erinnerung daran jetzt als Idol vor. Sie führt ein künstliches, aber kein natürliches Dasein. Wie Helena und die Mädchen im Vollgefühle des neuen Lebens den ihnen drohenden Tod von der Hand des Menelas schauen, redet sie Mephistopheles als "Gespenster" an, um auf die Künstlichkeit ihres Daseins in der Körperwelt hinzuweisen. Für ihn sind aber nicht nur sie Gespenster; alle Menschen sind es, nur sind die Natürlicherzeugten es in geringerem Grade. Die "geeinte Zweinatur" ist infolge der natürlichen Zeugung eine festgefügte, während sie bei den künstlich Wiederverkörperten eine leicht lösbare ist, so leicht, dass schon der eigene Wille diese Lösung bewirkt, wie das bei Helena und den Mädchen auch in der That eintritt, aber in der Mannigfaltigkeit der Art, wie sie dem Reichtum des schöpferischen Genius Goethes entspricht-sachlich ist es jedoch überall dasselbe. Ein "Leichnam" kann nicht erscheinen. Sobald das Schattenbild sich trennt und die belebende Kraft den Stoff verlässt, bleibt dieser formlos zurück und verbindet sich mit dem sonstigen toten Stoff. Der Dichter ist auch hier so streng folgerichtig, dass er die anders geartete Natur des Euphorion auch durch diesen Unterschied kennzeichnet-sein Leichnam wird gesehen. Stammt er doch durch natürliche Zeugung nur einerseits von einer künstlich wiederbelebten Mutter, aber andrerseits von dem natürlich gebornen Vater, er kann und muss daher auch natürlich sterben. So kann also Gerber auch in der That den von ihm verlangten "dead body" sehen. Im übrigen wird er sich freilich dabei beruhigen müssen, dass der konsequente Dichter ausdrücklich vor unseren Augen das

Körperliche verschwinden lässt. Nur bei der Panthalis erspart er sich und uns die Wiederholung des sichtbaren Prozesses der Auflösung, an der wir aber doch wahrlich gerade in diesem Falle nicht zu zweifeln haben. Es kommt doch auch sonst vor, dass der Dichter jemanden mit der Absicht sich entfernen lässt, um den Tod zu suchen, und er zeigt uns seinen Körper nicht—warum sollen wir hier denn auf der Leichenbeschauung bestehen?

Leugnet man diesen Zusammenhang des Homunkulus mit den wiederbelebten Gestalten des Helenadramas, so muss man sowohl den Homunkulus als eine willkürliche, ausserhalb des dramatischen Ganges stehende, dichterische Laune ansehen, als auch darauf verzichten, das Erscheinen der Helena aus dem Zusammenhange des Dramas zu verstehen. Es bleibt dann die grosse Lücke zwischen der klassischen Walpurgisnacht und dem Helenadrama unausgefüllt, während Goethe, der es doch schliesslich am besten wissen musste. bekanntlich behauptet hat, die grosse Lücke sei ausgefüllt. Meine Auffassung ist nichts weiter als ein Nachweis, wie diese Lücke thatsächlich beseitigt worden ist. Der Einwand Gerbers, dass alle Leser vor mir diesen Gedanken nicht gehabt haben, ist als Grund gegen seine Richtigkeit doch wahrlich nicht ernst zu nehmen. Es ist eben leider bisher üblich gewesen, infolge der grundfalschen Methode, bei den Gestalten des sogenannten zweiten Teiles zuerst nach der ausserhalb des Dramas liegenden symbolischen oder allegorischen Bedeutung zu forschen. So bald die Überzeugung von der selbständigen Realität dieser Gestalten die Frage nach ihrer Stellung in der dramatischen Entwicklung in den Vordergrund stellt, möchte allerdings die von mir vertretene Auffassung nicht so weit zu suchen gewesen sein. Hat doch schon die Welt in unsäglich viel bedeutungsvolleren und sie näher berührenden Fragen warten müssen, bis jemand kam, der die Dinge mit einem, nicht durch die bisherige Art des Sehens voreingenommenen Auge betrachtete. Von denen, die Faust zu erforschen bemüht sind, berechtigt der eine mit seiner Betrachtungsweise den Direktor des Vorspieles auf dem Theater zu seiner Aufforderung an den Dichter: "Gebt ihr ein Stück, so gebt es gleich in Stücken"-er weiss zu gut, dass es doch zerpflückt werden wird. Ein anderer steht aber auf der Seite des Dichters, der "das Einzelne zur allgemeinen Weihe" ruft, "wo es in herrlichen Akkorden schlägt." Eine Untersuchung aber, deren Ziel die Erkenntnis dieser Akkorde ist, verfolgt die ästhetische Methode.

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Diesem Hauptpunkt gegenüber treten die sonstigen Einwände Gerbers zurück. Sie beziehen sich in der That auf mehr Äusserliches, und ich würde sie hier ganz bei Seite lassen, wenn in ihnen nicht seltsame Missverständnisse zu Tage träten. Gerber behauptet als Punkt I seiner Einwendungen, meine Behauptung sei, die Akte ii and iii bildeten:

"such a close, separate unity within the whole of the drama, that a personage of Homunculus' importance must needs appear in both acts,"

und zitiert dafür Goethe-Jahrbuch, S. 130. Wer dort nachliest, findet zu seinem Erstaunen, dass dort steht:

"dass zwischen den beiden Akten der allerinnigste Zusammenhang besteht, so dass sie als etwas enge Zusammengehöriges, als besondere Einheit betrachtet werden müssen, wird nun aber durch die Rolle bewiesen, die Mephistopheles in ihnen spielt."

Dies wird im einzelnen nachgewiesen und aus diesem so nachgewiesenen Zusammenhang ergeben sich die Fragen (S. 131 f.): Was wird aus Homunkulus? Wo kommt Helena her? Nach meiner Auffassung kann Homunkulus als Homunkulus im Helenadrama gar nicht mehr erscheinen, wohl aber wirkt die Lebenskraft, deren Einführung zur Belebung des toten Stoffes der Dichter notwendig braucht und die er zum Zwecke des dramatischen Auftretens mit einer vorläufigen Verkörperung hat ausstatten müssen, in Helena und allen Ihrigen fort-aber Homunkulus, als solcher, existiert von dem Augenblicke nicht mehr, in dem er die Flasche zerbricht. Ferner: die unter No. 2 aufgeführte angeblich von mir herrührende Behauptung steht auf der zitierten S. 132 überhaupt nicht und mit diesen Worten auch nirgends bei mir, wenn sie auch dem Inhalte nach meiner Auffassung entspricht. Homunkulus hätte allerdings "no serious purpose in the drama," wenn er nicht, wie ich es ausdrücken würde, die Gesammtentwicklung des dramatischen Ganges förderte, wenn er nicht wesentlich in sie eingriffe. Für die "appearance of the actual Helena and her women" ist er jedoch nur einer der drei notwendigen Bestandteile. Er hätte existieren und wirken können und Helena wäre doch nicht aufgetreten, wenn die beiden anderen Bestandteile sich nicht gleichfalls willig dargeboten hätten. Und so hat Gerber mit Punkt 3 recht, der diese drei Bestandteile aufzählt. Der Punkt 4:

"the reader will not believe in the appearance of the actual Helena and her women, unless the poet show him how they obtain life and matter,"

mit Hinweis auf Goethe-Jahrbuch, S. 138 f., stellt die Sache wieder in ein falsches Licht. Es kommt für die Erweckung dieses Glaubens nicht auf das Wiedererscheinen der Helena an, sondern auf die eigentümliche Art ihres Daseins. Gewinnt dieses Zauberdasein nicht erst dadurch die Wahrscheinlichkeit einer Wirklichkeit, wenn der Dichter es uns vor Augen entstehen lässt? Wenn der Dichter einen Geist erscheinen lässt, wie Shakespeare Hamlets Vater oder Banquo, oder Goethe selbst den Erdgeist, so ist es nicht nötig, dass er uns die Wahrscheinlichkeit dieses Geistes erweist: das Erscheinen von Geistern steht als Thatsache so fest im Glauben der Menschen, besonders in manchen Epochen, dass der Dichter nichts nachzuweisen braucht. Er lässt den Geist kommen und wir glauben ohne weiteres an ihn. Hier handelt es sich aber nicht um das Erscheinen von Geistern, wie in der klassischen Walpurgisnacht, sondern um eine materielle, körperliche Wiederbelebung, um eine Erscheinung in Fleisch und Blut, die ausserhalb des Wunderglanzes dieser Nacht ihr wahrhaft körperliches Dasein beibehält. Diese die volle Kraft der Wirklichkeit tragende Verkörperung muss uns glaublich gemacht werden; dass ein Mensch mit dem Geiste eines Weibes einen Sohn gezeugt habe, ist unfassbar. Dass Faust, der mit Helena einen Sohn zeugen soll, sich bei seiner Vermählung mit Helena nicht mit einem Geist, sondern mit einem echten, wirklichen menschlichen Wesen vermählt hat-das ist es, was uns glaubhaft gemacht werden muss. Gerber erfasst diesen Unterschied nicht, weil er Helena nur als Geist betrachtet, was falsch ist. So muss ihm

auch die daran sich schliessende Reflexion unklar bleiben. Punkt 5 ist richtig gefasst: der neugeschaffene Ausfluss des Weltgeistes mit seiner belebenden Kraft braucht, gerade weil der ganze Verlauf ein künstlicher, nicht ein natürlicher ist, mit dem von ihm belebten Stoffe nicht zuerst die niedrigsten Lebensformen auszufüllen, wie es im natürlichen Verlaufe der Dinge notwendig wäre. Trifft er auf einen der Unterwelt eben entsteigenden Schatten, der seinerseits belebten Stoff sucht, um zur Wiederbelebung zu gelangen, so kann er hier sofort seine Thätigkeit beginnen. Die mir in Punkt 6 zugeschriebene Behauptung,

"it is an easy task for the reader's imagination to comprehend that it is the purpose of Homunkulus to furnish life and matter [richtig—'life,' und in Verbindung mit den von ihm belebten Elementen auch—'matter'] for Helena and her women, and Goethe had no chance to make this more plain than he has done,"

steht in solcher absoluten Fassung nirgends bei mir, also auch nicht auf den zitierten Seiten 142-144. Es ist ein grosser Unterschied, ob das so schlechthin ausgesprochen wird, oder ob dem Leser, wie es bei uns geschieht, die vom Dichter gegebenen Andeutungen und Hinweisungen zusammen gefasst, in ihrem Zusammenhang dargethan und erklärt werden und daran sich die Frage schliesst, ob auf Grund dieser so zusammen betrachteten Voraussetzungen nicht "die Brücke von Homunkulus zu Helena wirklich geschlagen ist" oder gesagt wird, der Dichter sei im Rechte, zu erwarten, dass seine Leser und Hörer

"die geringe Kraftleistung von Phantasie, um die Brücke zu schlagen, wo Ausgangs- und Zielpunkte gegeben und die Richtfäden herüber und hinüber gezogen sind, selbst aufzuwenden vermögen."

Aber freilich, diese Zusammenhänge müssen erst vom Leser und Hörer erkannt, und zu diesem Zwecke vom Kritiker dargelegt werden. Ist doch unser Leser- und Hörerpublikum seit Jahrzehnten dazu erzogen worden nachzusprechen, ein Zusammenhang sei in der Faustdichtung überhaupt nicht da—da wird es freilich schwer sein, die Erkenntnis dieser Aufgabe zu verlangen, die übrigens nur nach Gerbers Angabe "an easy task" von mir genannt worden sein soll. Bei mir kommt

diese Bezeichnung nicht vor. Die Einwände Gerbers, die sich durch ihre unzutreffenden Behauptungen nicht vorteilhaft auszeichnen, sind hiernach weit davon entfernt, Widerlegungen darzubieten. Es war daher ailzu schnell, dass der Berichterstatter über Deutsche Litteratur in Amerika im Euphorion (Band v. Heft 2, S. 358) schreibt, Gerber habe "die sechs Punkte widerlegt." Es hätte dem thatsächlichen Bestande mehr entsprochen, wenn er geschrieben hätte, Gerber habe diese Punkte "zu widerlegen versucht." Wie leicht die Erkenntnis gewesen wäre, dass es sich bei Gerber nur um einen Versuch, nicht um erreichtes Ziel handelt, hätte dem Berichterstatter unter anderem der Umstand zeigen können, wie Gerber im besonderen die enge Zusammengehörigkeit von Akt ii und Akt iii bestreitet:

"In the first place, there is Eckermann's testimony, that the Classical Walpurgis-Night and the Helena-Drama are 'independent little worlds that concern each other little,' für sich bestehende kleine Weltenkreise die einander wenig angehen.'"

Der Ausdruck "Eckermann's testimony" muss den unbefangenen Leser zur Annahme bringen, Eckermann lege Zeugnis ab für einen Ausspruch Goethes. Es sind aber Eckermann's eigene Worte und gerade die wichtigsten sind obendrein ausgelassen und durch Punkte ersetzt, die die Meinung erwecken müssen, hier sei ein Zwischensatz, der mit der Hauptfrage nichts zu thun habe. Er hat aber sehr viel damit zu thun, denn es heisst unter Hinzufügung der auch vorher weggelassenen, aber für das Verständnis der ganzen Stelle sehr wichtigen anderen Subjekte:

"denn im Grunde sind doch der Auerbachsche Keller, die Hexenküche, der Blocksberg, der Reichstag, die Maskerade, das Papiergeld, das Laboratorium, die klassische Walpurgisnacht, die Helena lauter für sich bestehende kleine Weltenkreise, die, in sich abgeschlossen, wohl auf einander wirken, aber doch einander wenig angehen."

Es ist somit hier ausgesprochen, dass in der Faustdichtung eine Reihe von Handlungen auftreten, deren jede für sich ein abgeschlossenes Ganzes bildet. Dies ist der Charakter der Gesamtdichtung und bezeichnet nicht nur das Verhältnis von Akt ii und iii. Damit aber gewinnt die Darlegung eine durchaus andre

Bedeutung und die Herausgreifung zweier einzelner Handlungen, als ob blos zwischen ihnen ein loser äusserer Zusammenhang bestehe, ist unstatthaft. Es zeigt sich auch hier wieder, wie Gerber den Blick auf das Ganze bei Seite setzt, um eine Einzelheit für sich betrachten zu können. Es ist aber zweitens hier ausgesprochen, dass diese in sich abgeschlossenen Handlungen "wohl auf einander wirken, aber doch einander wenig angehen." Einzelverlauf der Einzelhandlung hat mit dem Einzelverlauf der anderen wenig zu thun, aber die eine Gesamthandlung wirkt als solche auf die folgende, die ohne die vorhergehende nicht denkbar wäre. Hätte nun Gerber mein Buch Goethes Faustdichtung beachtet, so hätte er gefunden, dass ich gerade die in sich abgeschlossenen, im Einzelverlauf sich wenig berührenden Handlungen ganz ausdrücklich als solche in ihrer Bedeutung für den Gesamtbau der Dichtung überhaupt nachgewiesen habe. Er hätte aber auch gefunden, dass der Dichter, um von einer Haupthandlung zu der folgenden, auf einem ganz anderen Gebiete sich bewegenden, überzuführen, sich eines durch die ganze Dichtung gleichmässig beibehaltenen technischen Hilfsmittels bedient. Er schickt der Handlung stets eine Vorhandlung voraus, die die Aufgabe hat, in die in der Haupthandlung erscheinende Lebenssphäre einzuführen und sie vorzubereiten. Je eigenartiger diese Haupthandlung ist, um so ausführlicher und eingehender wird die vorbereitende Handlung ausgesponnen. Nun ist aber keine Haupthandlung eigenartiger und setzt mehr Vorbereitungen voraus als das Helenadrama. Die Vorhandlung ist daher hier die ausführlichste-sie umfasst die gesamten Mittel zur Wiederbelebung der Helena, also die Schaffung des Homunkulus und die klassische Walpurgisnacht. Eine genaue Darstellung dieser dem ganzen Drama eigentümlichen Technik giebt das Buch Goethe's Faustdichtung sowie die Übersicht auf S. 13 in meiner Fausterläuterung; diese künstlerische Technik selbst findet ihre Darlegung auf S. 51 dieser Schrift. Ihr Verständnis ist für die Einsicht in die Reihenfolge der Erlebnisse von entschiedener Bedeutung. Das, was Eckermann nur andeutend und nicht mit eingehendem Verständnis des Sachverhaltes schildert, ist jedoch nur seine Antwort auf Goethes Darlegung, wie er den vierten Akt zu gestalten denke. Goethe geht dabei nicht auf das Einzelne ein, sondern legt nur den Grundcharakter dar, wie er sich ja einzelner Erklärungen absichtlich enthalten hat. Er sagt nach Eckermanns Bericht:

"Dieser Akt bekommt wieder einen ganz eigenen Charakter, so dass er, wie eine für sich bestehende kleine Welt, das übrige nicht berührt und nur durch einen leisen Bezug zu dem Vorhergehenden und Folgenden sich dem Ganzen anschliesst."

Eckermanus Antwort ist nur ein Echo dieser Worte und giebt mit ihrer Umschreibung nicht eine Spur von Neuem. Es hätte also das Wort Goethes angeführt werden müssen, das, soweit hier Goethes Worte überhaupt als authentisch betrachtet werden dürfen, allein Anspruch auf Authentizität machen kann. Wie sehr aber gerade diese Darlegung mit meiner Auffassung stimmt, zeigt ein Vergleich mit dem von mir für die Gesamtdichtung aufgestellten Grundgedanken in der Technik des künstlerischen Aufbaues. Bei diesem ist jedoch einzusetzen, wenn man ein Einzelglied des Ganzen so verstehen will, wie nach des Dichters Überzeugung in der That jedes Einzelglied zu dem einheitlichen Wirken des Ganzen des Faustwerkes beitragen muss.

Wer Gerbers Abhandlung eingehend liest, wird gern anerkennen, dass sie aus ernster Arbeit hervorgegangen ist und in ihrer Art mit redlichem Bestreben nach der Lösung des Problemes ringt, das sie sich stellt. Aber er geht von der Voraussetzung aus, es wäre möglich zum Verständnis einer Einzelgestalt der Dichtung zu gelangen, ohne ihre Stellung im Zusammenhange der Dichtung zu prüfen. Diese Verschiedenheit seiner Auffassung von der meinigen macht nun seine Einwände und meine Gegendarlegungen nicht zu einer Streitfrage zwischen Gerber und mir, sondern es handelt sich um einen methodischen Unterschied bei der Untersuchung eines Kunstwerkes. Es muss daher zum Schlusse mit aller Entschiedenheit betont werden, dass es nicht auf Abweichungen in Einzelfragen ankommt, sondern auf eine entscheidende methodologische Frage: Soll ein Kunstwerk dazu dienen, um in seinen Einzelheiten zu symbolischer und allegorischer Ausdeutung verwendet zu werden, oder soll, zum mindesten in erster Linie, realistisches Verständnis des Kunstwerkes erstrebt werden, so dass jede Einzelheit auf ihre Stellung im Zusammenhange geprüft wird? Ergiebt sich dann die Neigung, symbolische und allegorische Deutungen auch noch zu versuchen, die sich freilich nie von dem Ergebnis der realistischen Erkenntnis entfernen dürften, nun, so mag man diesen Sprung ins Dunkel wagen. Ich glaube jedoch nicht, dass, ist erst das realistische Verständnis gewonnen, solche Neigung noch vorhanden sein wird—ich meinerseits empfinde nicht das geringste Bedürfnis dazu.

VEIT VALENTIN.

Frankfurt am Main.

MALDON AND BRUNNANBURH.

Maldon and Brunnanburh: Two Old English Songs of Battle. Ed. by Charles Langley Crow, Ph. D. Boston: Ginn and Company, 1897. 8vo, xxxvii, 47 pp.

Zur Entwicklung der Historischen Dichtung bei den Angelsachsen, von Daniel Abegg. (Quellen u. Forschungen, 73 Heft.) Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1894. 8vo, xii, 126 pp.

The Crawford Collection of Early Charters and Documents, now in the Bodleian Library. Ed. by A. S. NAPIER and W. H. STEVENSON. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1895. 4to, xi, 167 pp.

ASIDE from the history of the MSS. and sources in the Introduction, the new edition of Maldon and Brunnanburh seems to me to have no advantages over that in Bright's Anglo-Saxon Reader. And while the Text, Notes, and Vocabulary are quite reliable, the Introduction is not just what we might look for. The author has, apparently, not availed himself of the latest and best literature on his subject. At all events the best recent monographs on Maldon and Brunnanburh are neither referred to in the Introduction and the Notes, nor given in the bibliographical list

(pp. xxxii-xxxvii). The two most important are the monograph by Abegg (cf. The Nation for Jan. 1897), and Judith: Studies in Metre, Language and Style, etc., by T. Gregory Foster (Quellen u. Forschungen 71, 1892). Foster has made a careful study of Maldon and Brunnanburh, both in language and metre, by way of comparison with Judith and other O.E. poems. Several interesting points connected with the history of Maldon are also discussed at length by Napier and Stevenson in the 'Notes' to their Early Charters and Documents.1

I have noticed the following instances in Crow's edition in which correction is necessary or desirable. According to the arrangement of the Introduction and text, *Maldon* should have been considered under (a) p. xi, and *Brunnanburh* under (b) p. xii.

On p. xx the discussion of alliteration is not at all clear to me. The author seems to have understood the terms, 'double,' 'tripple,' 'quadruple' alliteration quite differently from Sievers' definition of them. Sievers always speaks, if I mistake not, of double and tripple alliteration in the *Halbzeile*, and not with reference to the entire line (cf. Paul's *Grundr*. ii, I, p. 872 et seq.). According to Crow's idea there is no such thing as 'single' alliteration.

Attention might have been called (p. xx) to the alliteration of the palatals c. g. with the gutturals: cf. Câfne mid his cynne, pæt wæs Cêolan sunu (M. 76). And I see no valid reason for not alliterating Ceorl: Clypode (M.256); it is also probable that c' alliterates with c in Clufon Cêllod bord, Cêne hî weredon (M. 383).

g': g occurs in pær ongêan gramum gearowe stêdon (M. 100), Him se gŷsel ongan geornlice fylstan (M. 265), and geongne æt gûðe. Gylpan ne porfte (Br. 44).

The $g\ell$ (M. 32) is not, as Abegg thinks, in the alliteration, but this line is to be classed with others like M. 29, which have two alliterative syllables in the second half-line and only one in the first.

I am also inclined to believe that the poet of *Maldon* intended alliteration in the following instances (contrary to the general rule):

² NOTE. Professor Gerber writes :

[&]quot;However correct Professor Valentin's method of considering a work of art may be,—and I do not differ from him as widely as he imagines,—his interpretation of Homunculus appears to me no more probable than it did before. I expect to reply as soon as I have had an opportunity to consult the publications to which he refers." Ed.

¹ Cf. also, Rieger: Alt- und ags, Verskunst. Zs. f. deutsche Phil., vii; Heinzel: Uber den Stil der altermanischen Poesie, Quell. u. Forsch. 10 Heft.

sc: st (1. 19), sc: s (1. 59), st: s (1. 271). On the latter line Abegg says (p. 9, note):

"Die Ansicht Riegers (S. 16), Kluges (P. B. B. ix, 446), Luicks (Paul's Grdr. ii, 995), dass dieser Vers keinen Stabreim hat, halte ich für unberechtigt."

In M. 224 I much prefer with Zernial to alliterate ægðer: and; for, although this alliteration is irregular, it is no more so than Mæg: min, and it preserves the rhythm of the line much better.

The following rimes may be noted in addition to those given by Crow (pp. xxi-xxii): Sectional, masc., wæl fool on eorðan 126; b End. rine: (woie)ing:-rine(138-140); Godwig: wige (192-3); ofermóde: ðéode (89-90). Assonance, rædde: tæhte (M. 18.).2

Inasmuch as the suffixal rimes in *Maldon* are so numerous and varied, it would have been advisable, it seems to me, to draw attention to and possibly to give a full list of them. This has been done by Abegg (pp. 13-14).

On p. xxxiv, the reference under 'Prosody' should be, Beiträge, vol. ix, instead of vol. x.

It seems rather unfortunate that the editor attempted to indicate the alliterative letters in the text. The italics disfigure the page and are wholly unnecessary even for the beginner. My experience has been that students quickly and easily learn to distinguish the alliterative syllables with a little explanation from the teacher. It is advisable also from a pedagogical stand-point to dispense with all efforts at reducing the learning of alliteration to a mechanical process. But the greatest objection to Crow's attempt at italicizing the alliterative syllables is its incompleteness. The following unitalicized alliterations have been noted: Eac (?) M. 11, Wodon M. 96, wyrcan M. 102, wærð M. 116, Wód M. 130, the entire line M. 232, bæd M. 257, bærst M. 284, the entire line M. 299, heora Br. 47 wapengewrixles (the second w?) Br. 51.

By including the other historical poems like The Death of Eadgar, the Death of Eadward the Confessor, etc., in his edition, Crow would have greatly added to the value and interest of the book.

The object of Abegg's monograph is best stated by the author himself,

"Es ist der Zweck dieser Arbeit, zunächst die erhaltenen ae. Geschichtsdichtungen nach Form und Inhalt eingehend zu betrachten, dabei nach Kriterien zu forschen, an denen Prosaumschreibungen alter Gedichte zu erkennen sind, und dann diese Kriterien auf die ags. Ann. und Heinrich von Huntingdons Historia Anglorum anzuwenden."

The work is divided into two parts:

"I. Die in poetischer Form erhaltenen Geschichtsdichtungen; II. Prosaauflösungen historischer Gedichte in den ags. Annalen und der Historia Anglorum des Heinrich von Huntingdon."

Chap. i (pp. 3-26) considers the poem, Byrhtnoth's Death in the Battle of Maldon, with respect to Contents, Comparison of Sources and Other Accounts, Choice of Subject-Matter, Conception, Composition, Versification, Language and Style, etc. In Chap. ii. the author treats the historical poems of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle under two different heads: (1) Gelehrte Annalistendichtungen, including (a) Aethelstan's Victory at Brunnanburh, (b) The Freeing of the Five Boroughs by Eadmund, (c) The Crowning of King Eadgar at Bath and Eadgar's Death, (d) The Death of Eadward the Confessor; (2) Gedichte Volkstümlicher Art, embracing (a) The Glorification of the Fortunate Reign of King Eadgar, (b) The Death of King Eadgar, (c) Lament over the Misfortunes of the Church under Eadward the Martyr, (d) The Capture of Canterbury and Imprisonment of Archbishop Alfeah, (e) The Capture and Death of Alfred Aethling, (f) The Marriage of Margaret with Malcolm of Scotland, (g) The Wedding Festival of Earl Ralph of Norfolc.

Part ii, embracing chapters iii-iv (pp. 79-111), is devoted to the consideration of the Anglo-Saxon Annals, and the Historia Anglorum of Henry of Huntingdon.

The author then gives (pp. 111-113) a summary of the results obtained by his researches, and this is followed by a long appendix (pp. 114-126) on the Capture and Death of Alfred Aethling.

In the chapters on Maldon and Brunnanburh, Abegg considers in detail the various sources of the poems as well as the other known accounts of and references to the two battles. The poem Maldon gives the most complete account of the battle of Maldon,

² These instances are taken from Abegg.

but there are also brief descriptions in the several MSS. of the Chronicle, and references to the events of the battle in Florence of Worcester and Henry of Huntingdon. An interesting description of the battle of Maldon, and the life and death of its hero, is also found in the Historia Elienis (cf. Abegg p. 6, Crow p. Many of the data of this story are doubtless without foundation, but the characterization of Byrhtnoth agrees on the whole with that of the poem. Abegg is of the opinion that the poem was not composed for the especial glorification of the valour of Byrhtnoth, but to inspire the English to a renewed and vigorous struggle against the Danes (cf. p. 8). He also agrees with Freeman in holding that the chief events of the battle and the names of the leaders (as given in the poem) are entirely trustworthy.

In the composition the poet follows the older heroic poetry. Byrhtnoth is the central figure of the poem, just as Beowulf is of the epic. He is the circumspect general and courageous soldier. As *Eorl* he is loyal to his king and solicitous for the welfare of his followers; and he dies as a Christian hero, beseeching God for the salvation of his soul

(cf, p. 8).

As to the Battle of Brunanburh, Abegg cites the following accounts and references independent of that in the poem: (1) A Latin poem preserved in the MS. Cotton. Nerv. A. ii, a Saxon MS. almost or quite contemporary with the event itself. It seems to be a fragment with a very corrupt text, and reports that Sictric and Constantine, the king of the Scots, were conquered by king Aethelstan. (2) The Chronicles of the Picts, which date from the last quarter of the ninth century. (3) The Ulster Chronicle speaks of the battle as horrible and dreadful. (4) More specific details regarding the Irish Contingent are found in the Chronicle or Annals of Clonmacnoise. (5) A short account of the battle is given in the Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters under the date 938. (6) The Egilssaga is not an actual source for the description of the battle, as it did not orginate before about 1230.

Besides these more or less authentic accounts of the Battle of Brunnanburh, there are

several reports from Chroniclers of the eleventh and twelfth centuries commenting upon the importance of the battle. Those given by Abegg are: (1) The Chronicon of the Ealdorman Aethelweard (circ. 1000) which says that the people at that time continued to speak of the great war, but it makes only meagre references to the battle of Brunnanburh itself; the author calls the battlefield 'Brunadune'; (2) the Gesta Regum Anglorum et Dacorum (formerly attributed to Simeon of Durham), which give more definite references; (3) Simeon of Durham who in his History of the Church of Durham gives a report similar to the preceding; (4) Florence of Worcester who follows the poem quite closely in his description; (5) Henry of Huntingdon who also follows the poem and translates the entire poetic description into Latin; (6) Eadmer in his Vita of St. Odo; (7) the Gesta Pontificum Anglorum by William of Malmesbury; (8) Joannes Fordun who inserted the report of William of Malmesbury in part in his description of the battle of Brunnanburh (Chronicæ gentis Scotorum, lib. iv, cap. xxii).

Abegg concludes (p. 34) from his examination of these various sources and reports that the Old English poet does not follow a legend or saga in his description, but historical facts. He confines himself throughout to historical evidence, and rarely allows himself poetic freedom. Both Brunnanburh and Maldon present in this respect a striking contrast to the older heroic poetry, but the former also differs from the latter as well as from the older poetry in the matter of composition. In Brunnanburh no individual scenes are portrayed. The description of the battle presents only those general features which would apply to all bloody battles of the time. Individual heroes are not praised and elevated above the great crowd of participants. Aethelstan and Eadmund are broadly characterized as the brave leaders of the English people; Constantine and Anlaf are designated as hated

Abegg makes a careful metrical and stylistic examination of the two poems, and concludes for Maldon that it is nearly related to the older heroic epos in the matter of composition. The versification, however, violates many laws which hold for the golden age of Old English epic poetry. But, with one possible exception, the purity of the alliteration has been preserved. A larger proportion of the so-called Gekreuzte Alliteration is also found in this poem than in the older epos.

As to the subject of rime in Maldon, the author thinks it impossible to determine to what extent the large number of sectional and end, and especially suffix rimes, was intended by the poet and appreciated by the public. Sectional and end rimes are strewn throughout the poem regardless of any fixed principle.

In the matter of style, Abegg agrees with Vilmar (Deutsche Altertümer im Heliand, p. 3) in placing Maldon side by side with the Beowulf and the O.E. religious epic.

The versification of Brunnanburh belongs, according to Abegg, to the 'Blütezeit' of O.E. poetry. In contrast with Maldon the majority of the epitheta, tropes, and kennings of Brunnanburh are to be found in the older poetry. So, also, almost all the syntactical and rhetorical peculiarities of the O.E. epic occur in the later poem.

"Überblicken wir das ganze Verfahren des Dichters (of *Brunnanburh*), so ergibt sich als Resultat, dass er vom alten, mündlich vorgetragenen Hele lebendigen, vorgetragenen Heldensang nur Sprachkunst bewahrt hat. Dazu Metrik und Sprachkunst bewahrt hat. kommt, dass manche Anzeichen direkt auf einen gelehrten Dichter schliessen lassen. Während im *Byrhtnoth* für die Dänen meist volkstümliche Bezeichnungen gebraucht sind, unterscheidet das Annalengedicht Schotten und Nordleute, wie auf englischer Seite Westsachsen und Mercier. Anlaf und Constantine werden mit Namen genannt; Chronikmässig wird die Zahl der im Kampfe gefallenen feindlichen Edlen angegeben. Zum Schluss beruft sich der Dichter ausdrücklich auf Bücher und weise Leute als Zeugen für die siegreiche Einwanderung der Angeln und Sachsen.

Wir dürfen daher mit gutem Grunde annehmen, dass ein Annalist das Gedicht verfasste und es von vorne herein für seine Annalen bestimmte (p. 39)."

Napier and Stevenson's Early Charters do not have to do directly with Maldon or Brunnanburh, but the authors have in their Notes given much new light on the history of certain of the heroes of Maldon. And while the discussions of the Notes alone are of immediate interest for this paper, it will not be out of place to give a sort of outline of the contents of the book and to indicate its importance for the study of English philology.

The nineteen "Charters and Documents" which constitute the text of the book are in part now first given to the public, and all of them appear for the first time in a thoroughly reliable reprint. As to the value of this publication, the authors say, preface (p. viii): "The importance of the documents printed in the following pages is evinced by the fact that eight of them are inedited and unknown (they appeared, however, in Birch's Cartularium Saxonicum, printed from the text of 'Early Charters and Documents' before the book was published). These inedited texts are of singular interest. They include an They include an early copy of an apparently genuine charter of King Aerelheard of Wessex, a monarch who has been hitherto represented by one charter; an original charter of King Aeðelstan, an important addition to the very brief list of original charters of this great king; an almost contemporary copy of a letter of St. Dunstan in Old English; an original charter of King Aedelred the Unready; the will of a bishop of Crediton; and the rules made for the canons of Crediton by the bishop of Exeter in the early years of the twelfth century. lection is hardly less important in regard to documents of which printed texts exist, since it comprises the originals of the following: a charter of King Eadwig, printed by Kemble and Birch from an eighteenth century script; the famous forged charter of Edgar to Westminster, hitherto printed from corrupt copies in chartularies; the will of Leofwine Wulfstan's son, reprinted by Kemble and Thorpe from Madox's text, the original having disappeared; King Aeðelred's charter of St. Alban's, printed without the O.E. boundaries, by Kemble from a thirteenth century copy.

The Notes with their scholary historical and philological discussions are full of interest, and are as important as the text itself. Their copiousness may be indicated by saying that they embrace one hundred and seventeen pages of the total number, one hundred and sixty-seven, of the book. The editors have, as they say in the Perface, given themselves latitude in the Notes. We find there the history and translation of the individual charters and documents, the history and description of the several MSS., line for line discussions of the geographical and historical references, and a careful examination of numerous Old English

words from every point of view. Many new definitions of old words have been established, and not a few entirely new words have been added to the vocabulary of Old English.

Especial references to the historical personages connected with the battle of Maldon are found in Charters v (dated May 9, 957, and entitled King Eadwig to Archbishop Oda), vii (dated 980 to 988 and being a letter of Archbishop Dunstan to King Aedelred 'concerning certain estates belonging to the diocese of Cornwall'), viii (date 998: 'grant of land at Southam, etc., by King Aedelred to Ealdorman Leofwine'), and ix (date Apr. 15, 998: will of Leofwine, Wulfstan's son, in favour of Westminster Abbey'). That is to say, the several leaders at Maldon whose names are mentioned in these documents are discussed at length in the Notes. Among others we find Addelstan dux (pp. 82-84), Byrhtnod dux (85-88), Aelfric dux (120-121, and 123).

Of Byrhtnoð dux the editors say:

"This is, no doubt, the hero of Maldon. signs from 956 to 990. Freeman (Norman Conquest i, 635) thinks that he is the minister Freeman (Norman of 967, an error for 972-3. He is clearly the dux who signs from 956 Nothing is known of his family, except that his father was named Byrhthelm (Song of Maldon, line 92). It is possible that he was related to Byrhtsige, son of Aetheling Beornoð (Chron. A) or Berhtnoð (Chron. B, C, D), who fell in 905 fighting with the Aedeling Aedelweard against King Edward . . . Brihtnod of Maldon married Aelflæd, the youngest daughter of Aelfgar, who mentions her (not by name) in his will (C S. iii, 215), in which Brihtnoð is clearly regarded as her husband. That Aedelflæd, the sister-in-law of Byrhtnod, was Aeðelflæd æt Domerhame is proved by her will, wherein she bequeaths land at Domer-She is also the una matrona to whom King Edgar grants land at Chelsworth, co. Suffolk, in 962, as she bequeathed this estate to Aelflæd and Brihtnoð. The will of Aelflæd records that Rettendon [co. Essex] was her 'morning-gift,' so it is evident that Brihtnoo had possessions in Essex at the time of his marriage (circa 950). In Aelflæd's will, which was drawn up after Brihtnoo's death (991), a kinsman of his named Aedelmær is mentioned. .. Out of all this (that is, discussion of Aedelmær's ancestry) nothing emerges clearly except the great probability that Brihtnoð's kinsman Aeðelmær was the son of the chronicler Aeðelweard, an undoubted scion of the royal house of Wessex..... Brihtnoð's sister's son, Wulfmær, fell at Maldon (Song of

Maldon, line 113). Another relative of Brihtnoð's who distinguished himself in the battle, was the Mercian Aelfwine, son of Aelfric, and grandson of Ealdorman Ealhelm (lines 209 to 224). This is, no doubt, the Ealdorman Ealhelm who subscribes from 940 to 951. It may be noted that the Battle of Maldon, which was fought in 991 according to the chronicle, occurred on August 11, for the Obitus Byrhtuoði Comitis is given upon this day (iii. 2d Aug.) in an eleventh century calendar (Cott. Lib. D. xxviii)."

The lengthly note on Aelfric dux does not succeed in entirely clearing up the mystery of that Aelfric's identity, who is mentioned in Maldon, l. 209, but the conclusion arrived at seems to confirm the surmise of Crow (Notes, p. 22) that "the Aelfric was possibly the one mentioned by Freeman. O.E. Hist., p. 230."

The editors think that the "chief interest" of the comparatively short "Will of Leofwine Wulfstan's son" (Chart. ix) has not yet been pointed out:

"It is the will of Leofwine, son of Wulfstan, an Essex land-owner, and it is dated nearly seven years later than the battle of Maldon. Now one of the heroes of this battle, the man who guarded the bridge, and who seemingly struck the first blow, was Wulfstan, the son of Ceola (cf. Maldon 1. 74 et seq.). The last line (that is,83, pā hwile pe hī wæpna wealdan mōston) seems to imply that the 'bitter bridgewards' fell fighting at their posts. In lines 152 sqq. Wulfmær the young, Wulfstan's ungrown son, distinguishes himself at Brihtnoð's side. It is highly probable that the testator was the son of the Wulfmær, because Brihtnoð's force must have consisted principally of the local levies, and the testator's possessions were close to Maldon. It was probably this local connection of Wulfstan's that caused Brilltnoð to select him to guard the bridge."

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GERMAN LITERATURE.

Inedita des Heinrich Kaufringer. Herausgegeben von H. SCHMIDT-WARTENBERG. Germanic Studies, edited by the Department of Germanic Languages and Literatures, iii. The University of Chicago Press, 1897. 8vo, pp. xv, 56.

THE third number of the Germanic Studies issued by the University of Chicago is one of exceptional interest, both to the critical student of German literature, and to the lover of folk-

lore; to the former, because it raises new problems with regard to Heinrich Kaufringer; to the latter, because it furnishes a version of the marriage of the devil which antedates the best known Italian and German forms of the story from one hundred to one hundred and fifty years. We shall first give a short synopsis of the book, and then take up the two main points of interest just mentioned.

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Professor Schmidt-Wartenberg begins his Introduction with an accurate description of the Berlin manuscript from which he has taken the poems. The codex was written by a Bavarian in 1472, and contains among two hundred and twenty-two poems of Heinrich Teichner, one by Conrad Vollstatter, and ten by Heinrich Kaufringer. Further on the editor calls due attention to the close connection existing between Teichner and Kaufringer, a circumstance which had escaped the notice of Karl Euling, who in 1888 published seventeen poems from a Munich manuscript under the title of 'Heinrich Kaufringers Gedichte.'1 Professor Schmidt-Wartenberg next discusses the bearing of the Berlin poems on those of the Munich codex, and although he does not admit the validity of all of Euling's arguments, he considers Kaufringer's authorship of all the poems established. In the second part of the Introduction the most important versions of the story of the marriage of the devil are surveyed, and a few remarks are made concerning the variants and possible sources of the other poems. A characterization of the language and the person of the poet is dispensed with, because Euling has furnished the one and promised the other. Some stylistic comments, however, will appear in connection with an edition of the poems of Teichner in the same codex. The text purposes to be in all essentials a diplomatic reproduction of the original. The poems vary in length from eighty to two hundred and fifty-eight lines of four stresses each, exceptions being rare. All were undoubtedly composed by Kaufringer because all close with the line:

"Also sprach Hainrich Kaufringer,"

a conclusion which occurs only in the last two poems, xvi and xvii, of Euling's collection,

t Heinrich Kaufringers Gedichte. Herausgegeben von Dr. Karl Euling. Bibl. d. Litt. Vereins in Stuttgart, 1888. and hence makes it necessary to re-examine the evidence for Kaufringer's authorship of the other fifteen. The subjects of the pieces are stated in the index of the manuscript and repeated as titles, in some cases with additions such as: "So merck; So hör vnd mercke; So merck vnd gutzz drauff," for the purpose of enlisting the particular attention of the hearer. The subjects and contents of the ten poems are in short as follows:

I. Ain bösz alts ubels weib überfaygt den tüffel. The assertion is proved by the story of the marriage of an old woman with the devil.

2. Das man die wellt fliehen soll. There is no escape from hell except by shunning the world which is wicked everywhere; Isaiah, John and St. Augustine testify to that. As at the close of a game of chess all the men are thrown into the same sack, high and low go to the same grave; only good works can save them from damnation.

3. Von den vorsprechen. A lamentation over the bad custom of hiring lawyers which had arisen in Bavaria and elsewhere, and a comical example of their cynic injustice told without a smile.

4. Man soll vatter vnd mutter jnn eren hon. An injunction of the commandment by means of a story which, as the editor explains, is a variant of a well-known fairy tale.

5. Was nutz die gutten werck dem menschen pringen, die weil er jnn sunden leytt. Good works alone cannot save men without repentance (compare no. 2!); they will give him, however, less pain in hell, riches and happiness on earth, and perhaps a life long enough to repent and be saved.

6. Wa ain volck vngemainsam ist, das pringt grossen schaden. The continual discord in the cities makes them succumb in time of war. This truth is emphasized by a story of thirty armed merchants who are overcome and plundered by only six robbers, in which the editor has rightly recognized a variant of the fable of the lion and the bulls.

7. Die mann ettwan schälck und lecker hiess, die hayssent nun laüffig und gescheyde. A lamentation over the regard in which rogues and parasites are held, and over the undeserved punishments of the innocent.

8. Von den syben tod sünden vnd den siben

gauben des hailigen gaists. To seven diseases of the body correspond seven plagues of the soul and as many remedies of the Holy Spirit; for example, to leprosy, envy and hatred, genuine worth; to paralysis, slothfulness, divine strength; to lupus, gluttony, divine insight, etc.

9. Von vnmässigem adel zeyttliches leydens. An almost frantic praise of suffering. Suffering even surpasses the cross, because God died on the cross in half a day, but suffered on

earth for more than thirty years.

10. Von den vier töchtern gotts vnd von vier geschlechten hie jn der wellte. Men are divided (logically?) into the rich and powerful, those in sadness and suffering, those who break his commandments, and those who obey them. To each of these classes God has destined a daughter of his in marriage who is to lead them to salvation; to the first Mercy; to the second Patience; to the third Repentance; to the last the Fear of God.—Even as short a survey as this may have shown the stern and bitter moralistic tone, and the strongly and strictly religious tendencies of the Berlin poems. It will scarcely be necessary to add that love adventures are excluded.

Proceeding now to the Munich poems we observe at once that they lack the homogeneous character of those described. xvi and xvii belong both by their closing line "Also sprach Heinrich Kaufringer" and by their contents directly to the Berlin poems. iii, i and ii agree with them in spirit. vi and viii contain illicit love affairs, but praise chastity. xiv is not free from objectionable details. xi, xii and xiii deserve to be called coarse. iv and v, and even more so vii, ix, x and xv, show a decided laxness of moral principles. Over and over again it is asserted that almost all men are deceived by their wives, and since Samson, Solomon, David and Aristotle had all fared ill, the lowly ones had better not be angry with them. The mayor of Erfurt is commended for his wisdom in accepting commercial advantages in expiation of the violation of his honor. Special praise is bestowed on a woman who manages to use the services of a pious and unsuspecting monk in order to arrive at her unholy ends.

Is the holder of these surprisingly liberal views identical with the one who wrote the

Berlin collection and xvi and xvii of the Munich poems? At least some of Euling's arguments that purpose to prove this identity appear untenable, or not cogent. Neither Professor Schmidt-Wartenberg nor the reviewer can accept the conclusions2 built upon the double closing line of xiv and the "einheit und abgeschlossenheit der handschrift." Nor does the latter see in the phrases collected on pp. v and vi anything but evidence of a certain relationship of the poems i-xv among each other, for citations from the two unquestionable genuine poems xvi and xvii are wholly wanting. The argument taken from the "flickwerk von bestimmten lückenbüssern"3 is but of small value, because these words and phrases are of frequent occurrence in some pieces and very rare in others, for example, in most of the Berlin poems. Solid ground is not reached until we come to the parallel expressions collected by Professor Schmidt-Wartenberg4 which, as he says, might easily be multiplied, and to Euling'ss more recent linguistic investigations. Both of these arguments, and more especially the latter, appear so strong that they alone would seem sufficient to establish Kaufringer's authorship of all the Munich poems against all doubts.

If then Kaufringer did write these poems, why did he fail to sign his name to i-xiii and xv, and how is it to be explained that he appears as a stern and sometimes fanatical moralist in some of his productions, and as a jovial and more than liberal-minded man in others? Euling6 tries to dispose of the first difficulty by saying:

"Dass besonders die stücke erbaulichen inhalts xvi, xvii den namen des dichters tragen, während die lasciven gedichte ihn nicht nennen, ist natürlich,"

but this corresponds by no means to the factsiii contains sentiments similar to those expressed in the Berlin poems 3, 6 and 7, only shorter and a trifle less bitter; the adultery which is mentioned is held up to scorn. i and ii are legends and differ from Prof. Schmidt-Wartenberg's poems only in the small extent

² l. c., pp. iv f. 3 l. c., p. vi. 4 Pp. vii, f.

⁵ Über Sprache und Verskunst Heinrich Kaufringers von Dr. phil. Karl Euling. Programm, Lingen, 1892.

⁶ Heinrich Kaufringers Gedichte, pp. 235 f.

of their moral and religious reflections, 2% and 71/2% as against an aggregate of 33% in 1, 3, 4 and 6. vi, to be sure, relates a rape, but without objectionable details, and both the lady who is the principal character of the story, and the comments of the author are pure. viii introduces a man who is dissatisfied with his wife because she is rather stingy, and sets out to find a really harmonious and happy couple. Twice he believes to have found one, yet in one case the wife had been unfaithful in the past, and, therefore, had to take a draught from her lover's skull every night, and in the other the husband had to put up with the company of a sturdy peasant, concealed in a cellar, to protect himself from public scandal. The man is glad to return to his wife, and the poet commends faithful wives that have no greater fault than stinginess. Objectionable details do not occur. Hence there are five pieces not signed which are everything but 'lasciv.' On the other hand xiv, which, as Euling7 holds, was signed by Kaufringer and not by a copyist, describes a rape and the sacrifice of a maiden's honor with a breadth of detail such as is found nowhere else. Since, therefore, lasciviousness or respectability of contents cannot have been the reason why two or three of the Munich poems were signed and the others were not, we must look for a better explanation. As it happens, Euling himself and Prof. Schmidt-Wartenberg have prepared the way for it. Euling, found that xvi and xvii, that is, the poems signed and after them iii, i and ii, poems we have classed next to them, too, are less perfect metrically than the other pieces of the Munich collection, and hence belong to an earlier period of the poet's life. Professor Schmidt-Wartenberg, on the other hand, has observed that the stereotype closing line: "Also sprach Hainrich Kaufringer" was written in imitation of Teichner. May we, therefore, not surmise that Kaufringer signed his poems while he was under Teichner's immediate influence, and left them unsigned at other times of his career, even when he might have been justly proud of them?

We have still to dwell a moment on the dif-

ference in the moral attitude of the poet which we have noticed above. With nothing but the Munich collection before him, Friedrich Vogt9 could say with an appearance of justice, that Kaufringer "zeitweilig auch eine fromme Miene aufsetzt." After the publication of the Berlin poems this will no longer do. For however much Kaufringer may have been influenced in his comments by the tone and trend of his sources, these comments express not only an honest, but sometimes even a passionate personal conviction. He does not seem to have been a man who could write in one strain to-day and in a directly opposite manner tomorrow, but it is much more probable that his greatly varying productions belong to different times of his life. We, therefore, must suppose that, as in the case of a classical writer, there was one period in his days when he was a stern moralist without any apparent sense of humor, who found fault with almost everything in the world, and hence embraced the heavenly things with so much the greater ardor, and, after a time of transition to which some of the poems seem to belong, another period when he allowed himself to be carried along by the current of his time, when he was genial and jovial, when he liked a good joke, and even occasionally a coarse one, when he took special pleasure in singing of the adventures of love more respectably than a good many others, but not discreetly enough to escape the eraser and the scissors of a zealous expurgator of the age of the Reformation.10

The last object of our attention was to be the poem containing the story of the marriage of the devil. It comprises two hundred and four lines, and its outline is as follows.

'Some one asked me what was the worst thing in this world, and I replied I knew of nothing as bad as wicked old women. If one of them takes a young husband he must be submissive to her or die an early death. Indeed, a wicked old woman drives away the evil one and gives him no peace, which I am going to prove presently. Once upon a time there was a wealthy old woman who was wicked beyond measure. A young man married her, but soon pined away and died on account of her contrariness. The devil felt sorry about

⁷ Heinrich Kaufringers Gedichte, p. iv. The genuineness of both closing lines is asserted, but not proved.

⁸ Programm, p. 11, below; p. 12, ll. 3-7.

⁹ Paul, Grundriss der Germanischen Philologie ii, 1, p. 360.

¹⁰ Euling, Heinrich Kaufringers Gedichte, p. ii.

this and assuming the shape of a young man married the old woman in order to avenge her former husband. Hardly, however, did she realize that he intended to worry her when she scolded and maltreated him so severely that he ran away from her. Out in the field he met a traveling student, told him who he was and what he had suffered from his wife, and suggested a compact. He would possess the king's daughter in the city and the student should come and cast him out and divide profits with him. They mutually pledged themselves to this agreement, but the devil had the secret intention of staying with the maiden. The princess became possessed, and the student who had staked his life that he could cure her, got into jeopardy of his life because the devil would not keep his promise. Finally an idea occurred to him. He went out of the princess' room and ordered the people He went out who stood outside to rush up to the door with great noise. No sooner had he returned to the maiden, than the castle commenced to resound with the cries of the people. Quite frightened, the devil asked for the reason of this uproar, whereupon the student solemnly declared that his wife had come, and was rejoicing at having found him, and that she was going to lead him back to her home. The devil did not abide the arrival of his wife, but went to the infernal regions, hoping not to be disturbed. Hence I truly say: etc.

Professor Schmidt-Wartenberg devotes almost half of his Introduction to a discussion of this poem and its variants. He rightly recognizes its connection with Machiavelli's Belfagor, utilizes Dunlop-Wilson, Landau, Regnier and other recent literature on the subject, and adds valuable information of his own. While he regrets that lack of further material prevents him from going still more deeply into the question, a stay at various great libraries and aid from others, has enabled the writer of these lines to acquaint himself with some thirty literary forms of the story exclusive of mere translations and reprints, and over fifty variants in modern folk-lore. A full treatment of all the various phases of this most interesting tale must be reserved for a more suitable opportunity; a few of the main points may be mentioned here.

The ultimate source of Kaufringer's and Machiavelli's tale has been found in India where, however, the trait of the marriage between the woman and the demon does not yet exist. The Indian tale appears without the marriage in Oriental literature, and with it in

Germany and Italy. The versions of France and England, with but one exception, are derived from Italy. The variants of Eastern Europe and adjoining parts point more frequently to Oriental than to Italian and German origin, and present some new developments.

The Latin manuscript's in which Dunlop-Wilson and Arlia have tried to find the source, or one of the sources, of the story of Belfagor, did not bear a close scrutiny. The old manuscript of St. Martin de Tours which, as Dunlop asserted and Wilson reiterated,12 contained the story of Machiavelli and Brevio with 'merely a difference of names' seems to have never existed at all. As Professor Schmidt-Wartenberg indicates, Dunlop-Wilson's statement appears to have been taken from a notice of the poet Lainez. This notice, however, speaks of a Latin manuscript containing the marriage of the devil in five or six lines. Now, five or six lines could never have given the story of Machiavelli and Brevio which is fully fifty times as long, 'with merely a difference of names.' The supposed manuscript, therefore, was certainly nothing else than an old print of Alterum Laurentii Abstemii Hecatomythium bound in vellum. The ninty-fifth fable of this collection is eight lines long and entitled 'De daemone uxorem recusante.' Though this fable represents a not very happy evolution of the tale, and cannot have been a source of Machiavelli or Brevio, it offers the earliest testimony for the existence, on Italian soil, of the idea of a marriage of the devil. After this Latin manuscript has been disposed of, we come to Arlia's Codex Laurentianus Antin. 130 (B. ii, 217).12 A careful perusal shows that none of its chapters contains any incident related to the story of Belfagor. The use of relics in casting out evil spirits, which is found in both, cannot prove interdependence because it was of too frequent occurrence in

11 History of Prose Fiction, by John Colin Dunlop, A new edition by Henry Wilson. London, 1888. Vol. ii, pp. 186 ff. There are also a number of other errors in this paragraph of the otherwise quite meritorious work. In the citation of Jellinek's book, "Acad." should be omitted before "Leipzig"; the citation from the Talmud is 17b instead of 12; Machiavelli did not die 18 but 22 years before 1549; this story was not mutilated by Straparola; there do not occur three full moons in the Bohemian tale, but only one.

12 Propugnators xix, 2 p. 97. Arla's citation "Antin. Laurenz. A, ii, 217" is incorrect.

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those days. Also Holen's Latin version has had no influence on Belfagor.

As to whether Machiavelli, or Brevio, or Doni is the author of the famous story, a question which has never been entirely settled during the past three hundred and fifty years,13 there are reasons never advanced yet, that prove Machiavelli's authorship beyond the shadow of a doubt. Whether Machiavelli in his turn drew on popular tradition only, or whether he had occasion to make use of the old French version of the Lamentationes Matheoli or some other written work, remains to be determined. Straparola's novel¹⁴ which has generally been classed as a mutilated reproduction of Machiavelli's or Brevio's Belfagor, differs very materially from them inasmuch as it combines the marriage of the devil with another story which, likewise of Indian origin, has furnished the fundamental idea of Molière's Le médecin malgré lui. Sansovino's novel, on the other hand, is nothing but a reprint of Brevio's Belfagor, with a few insignificant additions or omissions, and one apparently accidental change of a word. In Germany Kaufringer's poem was followed by quite a number of Latin and German versions, among which we mention with Professor Schmidt-Wartenberg a master-song, a farce, and a carnival-play by Hans Sachs. Though none of these has been directly derived from Kaufringer, they all but one agree with him in two traits never found in Italy: the devil marries an old woman instead of a young lady, and he demands of the man who is to cast him out his share of the profits.

Wezel's Belphegor has hardly anything but the name in common with any other Belphegor or Belfagor. His hero does not go to Pluto or Lucifer, but sails to America, and fights for the liberty of the colonies in the Revolutionary war. The Belphegor of classical German literature, finally, has remained unwritten because Mephistopheles, warned by the sad experiences of his cousin, did not venture to listen to the advances of lovely Martha Schwerdlein.

The great importance of Kaufringer's poem

rests in the first place upon the fact that it antedates all other European versions, except the old French, by probably no less than one hundred and fifty years. For while Kaufringer seems to belong to the last part of the fourteenth century, Brevio's novel was printed in 1545, Machiavelli's in 1549 (written before 1527), Straparola's in 1550 and Doni's in 1551. Hans Sachs composed his pieces in 1556 and 1557, and Sansovino published his reprint in 1561. In the second place, Kaufringer's poem together with Holen's version and a Sicilian folk-tale of to-day, are the only versions in which the devil breaks his word right away, and refuses to leave the very first possessed person. Even if Kaufringer knew the Old French version, it cannot have been his only

We refrain from extending our comments to other poems of Kaufringer. Until Euling 15 publishes the variants he promised to furnish ten years ago in order to remedy a shortcoming of his edition, students of comparative folk-lore may consult with profit Bebel's Facetiae and Crane's edition of Jacques de Vitry.

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FRENCH LITERATURE.

Manuel de l'Histoire de la Littérature Française, par FERDINAND BRUNETIÈRE. Paris: Ch. Delagrave, 1898. 8vo, pp. 531.

In this his latest work, Mr. Brunetière enters upon an entirely new field of study, or at least upon a new method of treatment of a study that he has made his own; namely, the application of the theory of evolution to the history of literature. We may speak of two distinct periods in Mr. Brunetière's career as a critic. In the first he established certain principles, or "idées fondamentales," by means of which he formed his judgments and which account for the severity, bitterness; antagonism, and his claim to exercise an authority in literary matters, so conspicuous in his writings from 1875-1890. It is during this first period that he was groping in the dark, vainly seeking to formulate a theory which would embody his principles. His erudition had until now aided

¹³ Most recent writers consider Machiavelli's authorship probable, but none has proved it.

¹⁴ Le xiii Piacevoli Notti del Sig. G. F. Straparola. ii, 4.

¹⁵ Heinrich Kaufringers Gedichte, p. ix.

him in forming his tastes, his tastes formed general ideas, these general ideas discovered and created, through historical facts, relations, currents or chains, thus organizing historical matter in pictures of ensembles, and establishing literary history in its true or probable succession. At this stage of his career, 1890, Mr. Brunetière perceived the adaptability of the theory of evolution to his ideas, and at once incorporated it into his theories. In the works prior to the present volume, in which he applies the theory of evolution, he confines himself to one species of literature, such as criticism, lyrism, and the drama. In the present volume he embraces the whole field of French literature, from its origin to 1875. In this respect this book is a new departure. However, this work is to be but an outline of a greater and more detailed history.

Instead of the usual divisions by centuries and species, such as poetry and prose, the drama and the novel, he replaces these divisions by literary epochs. The reason for this is a natural result of his application of the theory of evolution.

"Why should we date literary epochs by centuries, or even by the advent of a prince, when neither the epochs of physics or chemistry are treated thus? We must treat literature as we would the growth of a species in the animal or vegetable kingdoms, in order to give a continuity of movement and life."

A second object of the book is to treat the influence of works on works. We wish to do differently from our predecessors—this is the origin and principle causing changes of taste as well as literary revolutions.

A third object is to pay special attention to transition periods, for they explain and prepare the other periods, periods of activity. This will account for the fact that many obscure authors are treated at greater length in this history than is usually done. Mr. Brunetière has made a selection of authors, who, according to his judgment, are important in the development of literary history.

The book is exceedingly interesting, instructive, and valuable to the students of literature, less so to the general reader.

There are two distinct methods pursued in this history. The first half of the page, printed in large clear type, treats the history of French literature on a broad, general, philosophical and critical plan, regardless of dates, names or events, only treating developments of principles and ideas. The discussion is comprehensible to and appreciable by a thorough student of French literature only, one who is familiar with the philosophy of French literary history. The ideas or principles evolved in the course of centuries in French literature he has grouped under five headings and in three books:

Le Moyen Age, 842-1498. L'Age Classique, 1498-1801. L'Age Moderne, 1801-1875.

The five subjects treated are:

I. Le Moven Age.

- 2, La Formation de l'Idéal Classique, 1498-
- 3. La Nationalisation de la Litérature, 1610-1722.
- 4. La Déformation de l'Idéal Classique, 1720-1801.
 - 5. L'Age Moderne.

The lower part of the page, in small print, deals with events, dates, works, and authors. We find a copious bibliography under each subject; a nearly complete list of the works, best editions, with dates and principal sources of reference. This in itself is of the greatest value to the student. In the treatment we have no definite results or opinions placed before us, but directions how to work, what to examine, important questions to study, points of controversy, usually with references to information on these questions.

One will meet with disappointments in this history in the way of omissions. Authors that we should expect to find are not even mentioned; whereas, we find authors and works treated at length, that many students of French literature have not read, nor even heard of. We must remember, however, that only those works and authors are treated that are important in the development of literary ideas, or that have furthered the development of literary species.

Probably the most valuable part to the student is found in the references and sources of the early literature and in the chapter treating of: La Nationalisation de la Litérature.

Few critics have ever shown such mastery, and such fine interpretation of the spirit of a field of literature as Mr. Brunetière has done in this volume.

The following is a short synopsis of the critical text of the book:

In the Middle Ages there seems to have been a common manner of thinking and feeling imposed by the triple authority of religion, the feudal system and scholasticism; these made themselves felt so strongly as to obliterate all distinctions of origin, race, and personality. This close blending of thought and feeling in Europe makes it impossible to detect the original source of any literary species.

The races of modern Europe are historical formations, of which the literatures are only one of the multiple factors. There were nations before races, and before there were nations in Europe, all Europe was one homogeneous, indivisible whole, and the literature is an expression of it. It is uniform, hence, impersonal. Nearly all chansons or fabliaux could have been written by the same author. There is no personality because the authors were not free to act, feel and think as they were later. They felt and thought in a body or group which accounts for the dearth of lyrism and every preoccupation of art. The literature is very general, deprived of individual and local signification, hence impersonal. A second characteristic is its immobility. A chanson de geste under Charlemagne is the same as under Saint Louis. Centuries even make no change in the conception or psychology of the work. There has been no exterior intervention or individual caprice to retard or further the development which was slow and natural, but interesting.

The epic at first is only history, but soon attributes to heroes virtues beyond human power; finally history becomes the pretext only for the writer's imagination. The chronicle soon replaces the epic, and verse gives way to prose, and we have history. Thus we have a differentiation of species; nearly contemporaneous with this is one of classes. The fabliaux prove the intellectual emancipation of the vilain. A class of society has formed, as it were, a literature after its own image. At the same time in the aristocratic class the indi-

vidual manifests himself and lyrism is born: however, the state of mind and the customs do not yet permit personal literature. The clergy, in order to retain its power, also encourages a literature-miracles and mysteres are the result. A differentiation of nationalities, binding itself to that of species and classes is now noticeable. The various forms of species take a different form with the various nationalities. The whole of Europe, at first a unity, is now broken up and takes on different garbs. The esprit gaulois, so noticeable in French literature, is fortunately counterbalanced by other influences, especially by scholasticism which gives it clearness, precision, and accuracy. A special trait of this new literature is the tendency to universality. Writers write to act and to propagate general ideas; this trait has made it so popular and authoritative. These first species are soon exhausted and new ones do not develop quickly. The language becomes heavy, complicated, obscure and spiritless. The chronicle has full sway, and the times are not favorable to light literature. Villon is a great poet, but he does not create a school, because rhetoricians exercise the chief influence. Philippe de Commynes and Villon have survived, but these talents are accidents in this time. All phases of literature have passed into a period of decadence; they have had all the qualities of childhood. When the spirit of the Renaissance began to manifest itself, there was nothing to destroy. It gave to French literature three new things: a model of art, an ambition to reproduce the great examples of antiquity and imitate the forms, and to accomplish this a new manner of observing nature and man. On this is built the classic ideal. Humanism transformed the very bases of education and intellectual culture, and is the primary cause of the formation of classicism in France.

The first trait of this new spirit is the development of individualism. Each one was desirous of being different from every one else, to surpass and excel and to have this acknowledged publicly, and this fact gave birth to criticism. A second influence is the idea of goodness, the divinity of nature, which is closely allied to that of individualism, for to

obey nature is to assure the development of our personality. Rabelais in his *Pantagruel* teaches that nature is the instructress of virtues. He advocates liberty in all phases of development. He is inspired by the common ideas of his time, and his work may be called the *Bible of the Renaissance*. According to him the great enemy of man is custom, law, authority and constraint; these he attacked.

A further trait of the Renaissance spirit is the sentiment of art. Nature itself is not enough, the artist must add to it from his own individuality and the union of the two; that is, the subordination of the imitation of nature and the development of the individual to the realization of beauty, is the spirit shown in the Renaissance by the poets of the Pléiade. They strove to reform the language as artists, and if they have failed in this it was because they did not always feel the difference which separates one author from another, and because they lacked the spirit of discernment or criticism. This sentiment of the power of form or style, is an important element of classicism.

When it was generally realized what the philosophy of nature was, the Reformation was ripe. They both tend to the emancipation of the individual. The object of the Renaissance was to de-Christianize the world, to give it over to Paganism; whereas the Reformation desired to lead back Christianity to the severity of its primitive institution. They were enemies. In this the race element became manifest. To decide between humanism and moral preoccupations was the question, and from this conflict resulted the differentiation of the literatures of the North and South. Modern literatures begin now.

A first effect in French literature is the Latinization of culture; that is, the Greek language and literature fall back to the colleges and the erudite. Latin is substituted. From this there are two results—care for form and taste for general ideas or la réduction à l'Universel. Amyot is the great interpreter of this. Montaigne was directly influenced by him, and he has better than anyone known how to analyze the ego. He learns from the Latin authors experiences that he finds in himself, and thus his ego is his own as well as ours. He ex-

presses himself by his universal being, others do it by a special trait; he observes psychologically. The spirit of the Reformation strove to discipline nature. It tried to keep away foreign influences and to give to the individual such virtues as he would not naturally strive for. This is the first indication of a nationalization of literature. The leading idea was to maintain the social and moral order. We must all work to build up one another and establish the basis of une honnête amitié and un modèle d'honnête homme. This becomes the leading idea of the next century and a-half. Thus is disengaged a national literature which is social, general, broadly moral and æsthetic. In order to realize completely its true character, French literature had to suppress the spirit of individualism, of indiscipline and license. The Satires of Regnier champion this. They may be said to be a protestation of the esprit gaulois against the absolute liberty of the individual.

The Précieuses have freed literature from the pedantry with which it is still affected under Ronsard and Montaigne, and made it mondaine. They purified and polished both literature and society and caused a revolution in language. But this is not all: they unraveled the reasons which have directed the choice of this new language. The reform of the language can only assure the reform of literary habits. They refined and sharpened the intelligence as well, for they studied the development of sentiments and passions, whence came a mass of shades unknown to the preceding generation. Their object was to be the interpreter of common or general ideas. not of particular opinions; hence their influence is lasting. This spirit has prepared the way and success of Corneille, whose object was to gain the suffrage of the Précieuses. He purified the theatre, making it accessible to women. He belongs to the Précieuses inasmuch as he realized their ideal of art.

A great factor in furthering the nationalization of literature was the founding of the French Academy by Richelieu, who desired to create a type of the modern state; to establish this, unity in politics as well as in art and letters was necessary. But the men of letters were not always minded as the Cardinal.

Descarte's influence is said to be great. By his Discours de la Méthode he taught the writers to recognize and possess their powers. Nearly all writers after him were Cartesians in their doctrines and methods of application. However the work was not epoch-making. The influences of Spain and Italy were repelled by other influences, and the most important is that of Jansénism. Arnault's Fréquente Communion, 1643, had the effect of changing the simply agreeable questions and discussions of the day to more serious ones; yet it was too scholastic and theological. It remained for Pascal with his Lettres provinciales to found pure French prose, and to put in simple prose all that had been discussed for the last fifty years. From them dates, also, la fixation des caractères de la littérature et

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de l'idéal classiques. Bossuet's style was greatly changed and his thought liberated by them. These letters paved the way for all the master-works to follow, and founded the naturalistic school as well. Molière, Racine, Boileau, and La Fontaine are under the influence of Pascal. Their principle of art consists essentially in the imitation of nature; but it was not the object or end of art. They believed in perfecting nature, and for this a perpetual care for form and style was necessary. This was new to the time and with this comes the real nationalization of literature. It is found under the reign of Louis XIV. The literature is a direct picture and outcome of the new life that grew up with the King. France becomes the ideal of Europe. The King's personality shone in every phase of development. The literature is human and natural and will endure because it is not written for one period, but all periods, inasmuch as it has elements that will apply to all times-universal, human, national and free from foreign influence. In each great writer there is something peculiarly French; as in Racine, depth, subtle analysis, moral observation, harmony of proportion; in Boileau force and precision of language; in La Fontaine Epicurean nonchalance and Gallic malice. In all of their writings is found a didactic and broad moral tendency.

With the decay of the empire literature also decays, being left in the hands of débauchés,

précieux and libertins. Bossuet alone endeavors to check and restrain them and from 1680 to 1690 nearly all his best works are written; but libertinage rapidly grew into importance under the form of degenerate Cartesianism, and the great discussion arose of being a Christian and Cartesian at the same time. Malebranche humanizes what the Christian doctrine offers of the most harsh and contrary to reason; Bayle's criticism has the same object and Fontenelle popularizes the discussion by clothing his Cartesianism in the language of the Précieux. Perrault in his Siècle de Louis le Grand endeavors to prove the superiority of the modern world over the ancient, whence results the quarrel of the ancients and moderns. From this emancipation from the influence of the ancient world three consequences result:

1. The observation of real and contemporaneous things; 2. the foundation of the Academy of Sciences (1689); 3. the scorn or disdain of tradition, or the rage for novelty; the decadence or abasement of all noble or elevated species. French literature is in a state of exhaustion and there is no genius to reanimate it. Even the language changes its character, taking a lighter and more logical turn, partly due to Spanish influence. French prose turns to the narrative, natural on account of the interest shown in contemporaneous affairs; the language and thought thus becoming the close image of the French spirit, the spirit of sociability. Men write for others, to amuse and please and to be applauded, for in this lies their fortune and reputation. Such literature is of itself decadent, and with it the deformation of the classic ideal sets in. A new aristocracy is brought to light under Louis XV, douteuse ou impure en sa source, ignorante à plaisir, cynique et débraillée dans ses mœurs, raffinée toutefois dans ses goûts. Woman's influence is supreme, and only through her can the writer gain a position at Court. This spirit has advanced literature a step by emancipating sensibility from the narrow tutorship of the masters of the preceding age; it is found especially in the comedies of Mariyaux, and in Voltaire's Zaire and Alzire it even reaches pathos. This sensibility under its various forms of marivaudage, pathos and weeping does not produce any lasting works. L'homme sensible cannot be a profound observer nor a faithful imitator of nature, hence the psychological and moral observation of the preceding age is changed to a social observation and only manners are depicted. Nature is the same everywhere and so is man, whence the the idea of a universal man. To this idea Montesquieu tends in his Esprit des lois, the variety of laws being for the good of society. This social spirit is felt in all writers of the time and literature becomes more and more scientific, finally ending in that of the Encyclopædists. English influence naturally plays an important part, even as early as 1725. As long as French literature was dominated by the Classic ideal it preserved its independence; but now English thought and ideals replace it. Thus from the psychological and moral, French literature changes first to the social, then to to the scientific social and, finally, under English influence to the purely practical, and this is the encyclopædic spirit. The encyclopædists do not study man, but the relations of man, and necessarily lose sight of the diversity of nature which distinguishes men among themselves. They are experimenters and their literature lacks reality, substance and life, being philosophical and speculative only. The language becomes impoverished, the syntax narrowed and strained.

The Government and the Salons were opposed to them, the latter being especially harmful to literature, for so many mediocre talents were encouraged by them. They flattered and their flattery led men of of letters to the paradox; however, the Salons made scientific subjects popular.

About this time Rousseau's powerful influence made itself felt by opening the way to nature, closed for several centuries. Everyone is himself in the measure of freedom in which his sentiments are expressed and this freedom is nature. We are constrained by our habits and they change more or less; before they change they are nature herself; that is, nature is opposed to civilization. The object, then, of education is to free ourselves from the prejudices that prevent nature from developing according to herself, which is entirely opposed to the ancient doctrines. We are

dependent upon nature and must obey her. By this doctrine the individual is emancipated again from the tyranny of society, and sensibility is substituted for the rights of intelligence; principles entirely opposed to those of humanism and Classicism.

The great questions of the day, such as the Jesuits, rights of publication, questions of religion, legal despotism, etc., give to Voltaire this universality and authority of influence which he had sought so long. The direct cause of this supremacy was a general peace, as the Court and Parliament did not take sides in these questions. When Louis XVI. mounted the throne there was perfect freedom for the Encyclopædists and Economists, which gave rise to the last effort of the Classic spirit against the Anglomania which was menacing French gallantry, customs and literature. At this time there prevailed a kind of mixed tendency, best expressed in Beaumarchais, Le Sage and Scarron, whose inspiration was Classical, but whose subject-matter was mixed. André Chénier shows the true genuine Classical spirit. He believed that true beauty and perfection lay in the master-works of the ancients, and that originality and invention lay not in servile imitation, but in clothing the thought in the ancient immortal forms. He revived Classicism but it could not live, for it had held sway for nearly two centuries, and the society of which it was the expression had passed away. Literature grows and progresses as any animal or vegetable species. The period of Classicism was over. The Neo-Classicists were wrong when they said that new thoughts can be built on antique verses. If an epoch ceases to think like a preceding epoch it can not build its work on that of this epoch. Thus, then, were the Neo-Classicists wrong in borrowing poems from generations whose ideas they no longer shared, and taking as models for writing, master-writers who were no longer master-thinkers.

Three men, however, broke entirely away from the past, Condorcet, Buffon, and Bernardin de Saint-Pierre. The first founded the religion of science, and transmitted to us all the error and truth contained in the encyclopædic doctrine in his Esquisse d'une histoire des progrès de l'esprit humain. Buffon's Époques

de la nature founded a science of life. Bernerdin de Saint-Pierre is important on account of his language, a language of description. His excess of sentimentalism only serves as a preparation for Chateaubriand's Génie, with whom there is opened a literary epoch, the modern age.

The first effect of the disorganization of the Classic ideal was the emancipation of the individual, the ego becoming sovereign, the object of itself and its final cause. The Confessions were a direct precursor of Chateaubriand and Mme de Staël whose works are personal, psychological and lyrical as well, at the same time teaching moral perfection. He tries to prove that reason and philosophy always acquire new forces in the numberless misfortunes of humanity; therefore the possibility of restoring on the basis of Rousseau's morality everything the Revolution had put in ruins, and the beginning or promise of a new order of things. Science and philosophy for her are only means of moral perfection, whose object is the moral amelioration of humanity. This new sentimentalism and individualism are most vigorously opposed, because they are a most serious assault upon the philosophy of the eighteenth century. Bonald attacks Condorcet and Condillac; de Maistre, Bacon and Voltaire; Lamennais, Rousseau. These men, probably more than Chateaubriand and Mme de Staël, operate against the Encyclopædists, and have made possible the méditations and odes such as they are; they have created a religious poetry which elevated French poetry to heights probably never before reached.

The second sign of a new literature was the taste shown for foreign literatures, a natural result from the continuous European wars. The events of 1815 furthered this taste; Frenchmen returned from exile with new ideas and knowledge of foreign affairs and literatures. Especially from 1815–1825 is there a common manner of thinking and feeling from which literary cosmopolitanism is born; this cosmopolitanism differs from humanism which takes Greco-Latin culture as its basis, by appropriating the most national of national literatures, and by making of them a composition which is developed by contrasts with other literatures. The new spirit is furthered by Aug. Thierry,

who unites the sentiment of the diversity of place and epoch which are inseparable and forms local coloring; by Ampère and Magnin who distinguish between literary and non-literary works, and free literature from its political tutorship. Romanticism is nothing more than the triumph in literature and art of individualism. Everything between 1825–1835 furthered this development of individualism and this best explains the causes of its greatness, of its decadence and the nature of the reaction it was to cause.

While Classicism makes impersonality one of the conditions of perfection, romanticism makes personality or the freedom of being one's self and nothing but one's self a primary condition of art. What interests the artist is the subject of his works, and in them we find our own emotions reflected; thus we become interested and the greatest lyric poets are the most personal. They naturally needed a broader vocabulary and a freer verse, which led to an individual choice of words, to a revolution of language. This personal character is manifested in all literary species, and a reaction is natural and necessary. The failure in 1843 of Les Burgraves and the success of Lucrèce is fatal to the drama. Although Scribe and Dumas wrote badly, yet they understood that people do not assemble in the theatre to listen to the author speak to them of himself, but will become interested in a general subject. Ceasing to be personal the drama ceases to be romantic. The novel shows an impersonal observation.

It was Balzac, however, who freed it from the conventions of romanticism, and raised it to a perfection which, perhaps, no one has reached nor excelled. He showed clearly that the true literary function of the novel is the abridged representation of common life, giving the novel a historic and documentary value, precise, particular, local, with a general and lasting psychological signification. All human passions play the same rôle as in human life. He observes the human being and his surroundings just as a naturalist does the animal or plant; no impressions, but reality. Science was inaugurating a movement entirely opposed to romanticism, one of objective observation entirely disengaged from all personal or individual element.

Auguste Comte is the founder of this new movement; but in his philosophy there is as much of Comte as there is of Victor Hugo in his works. Comte opposes the eclecticism of Cousin, which makes of the ego the judge of others. Our knowledge of others serves to correct the idea we have of ourselves; we are only the scene or place of our impressions. True psychology lies in history and society, not in us, but outside and round about us, because we can only feel and experience our impressions.

Another reaction against romanticism is socialism, such as is found in Pierre Leroux. To live it is essential to have humanity for an object, for a normal life is one which does not violate the bond which unites us to humanity; we must, therefore, live as though we were to

live eternally in humanity.

History also abandoned the personal recital and endeavors to be an impartial recorder of the past. In criticism Sainte-Beuve reaches out a step farther by pointing out the reasons for the distinctions of species and the hierarchy of talents. He shows that there are families of esprit, and that there are genres and species in these genres, and ranks in these species, and that our impressions count for nothing in criticism. "Les considérants sont tout" and the value of these depends upon the laws that govern the human mind. This system has been fatal to romanticism. The finest verses of such poets as de Vigny and Gautier are entirely free from the romantic spirit. The principle now was to compose, sculpture, gild, hew, finish, file and polish a work like a marble statue; and Gautier succeeds in accomplishing this. No writer ever showed such disinterestedness in a work as is seen in Emaux et Camées. The writers mingle as little as possible of themselves with their impressions; to accomplish this the utmost care for form and choice of words is necessary. This principle introduces a generation of artists, replacing that of improvisors, and completely routs romanticism. Everything drifts to study and observation, and this is formed into a system by Taine and Renan, who are under the influence of Comte, only differing from him in the particular appropriation of the same general method to diverse subjects. A kind of intermediary between Taine and Renan is Littré, and these three give to naturalism a doctrinal cohesion, consistency, and solidity that romanticism always lacked.

A point that nearly all naturalists, Dumas, Flaubert, de Lisle, have in common is impersonality; that is, they themselves are not the subject of their observation; the man is subordinated to the artist. Madame Bovary and the Poèmes antiques have not invented provincial life nor the Gods of India; they already existed; but they have fixed the object of their imitation and described only that which they believed to see permanent in them. Reproduction of nature is the object, submission to the model is the means, and impersonality is the triumph. Thus does literature become

thoroughly scientific.

A third characteristic of contemporaneous naturalism is impassibility; that is, the most complete disinterestedness of all that is not art nor science. The artist must not show an interest in nor give an opinion of his characters; a fact is a fact; proof and not judgment is the means. If the reader does not draw the moral from the book it is because he is either an imbecile, or because it is false in point of exactness. All this develops the theory of art for art's sake, which leads the writer to the sentiment of the great difficulties of the art of writing, to the respect for language, and to the religion of form, without which no one has left anything permanent in the French language. The platitude inherited from the idéologues and encyclopædists, the liberty so much abused and pushed even to incorrectness, the incoherence of metaphors, the entanglement of turns and phrases, vulgarity of manners, familiarity of bad tone; all this is not found in de Lisle, Taine and Flaubert. They have given to style a degree of precision, fullness and solidity; but they err in their belief that an assemblage of words, independent of what they express, has a beauty in itself. However, their talent for writing has made the fortune of their æsthetic doctrines. Victor Hugo even imitates de Lisle in his Légende des siècles, but remains a romanticist because we only have his impressions.

Michelet and George Sand likewise endeav-

or to be impersonal, but they insist that art must not be separated from life, nor must the artist withdraw or isolate himself from the world. He must write for everybody. "Qu'estce que c'est que l'art sans les cœurs et les esprits où on le verse?" This the naturalists would not allow, and on account of this they found a great obstacle in propagating their doctrines. The dramatists especially have mixed the two principles, and after freeing themselves from the doctrine of art for art's sake, Feuillet, Augier and Dumas write pièces à thèse and moralize to their heart's content. But this art now falls into the hands of buffoons and the gross pleasure of the populace. The language becomes brutal, low, However, these means were the best banal. in their time and the most efficacious, finally turning to the profit of art.

In the first place the art of Dumas has triumphed over the dilettantism so prominent after 1870–1871; no one more eloquently than he denounced its dangerous and anti-social tendency.

He also protested vigorously against naturalism strangely degenerated from the idea that Taine and Flaubert had formed of it.

However, other influences have aided Dumas —Schopenhauer whose idealistic pessimism differs so profoundly from the vulgar pessimism of the base naturalists; George Eliot whose naturalism is, so to speak, a moral or sociology, differing from the artistic and impassible naturalism of Flaubert; Tolstoi and Ibsen, whose great inspiration is pitié sociale. All these foreign expressions and ideas have been united in Dumas and Sand, hence have triumphed over art for art's sake. Dumas believed that man was not made for art, but art for man, and this is generally recognized today.

Individualism of the romanticists, impersonality of the naturalists, has become social again in modern French literature, and it is to be hoped that it will hold to it, for if dilettantism has developed and excited the curiosity of the mind and sharpened penetration, and if naturalism has often been of great service, social literature can appropriate the conquests of the two; whereas, these cannot appropriate those of social literature, which likewise con-

forms to the tradition of four or five centuries of French genius. It expresses, in the language of the whole world, truths that interest and affect the whole world. The socialization of French literature has enabled French literature to resist foreign influences, and to retain only that which it could appropriate for the needs of its genius, and especially to exercise in the world the intellectual domination that it has exercised more often than any other people. And the object of this literature is to tend to the perfection of civil life or to the progress of civilization.

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FRENCH LITERATURE.

- A. French Practical Course, by Jules Magnenat. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1897. 12mo, pp. xi+286.
- B. La Bibliothèque de mon Oncle, par Rodolphe Töpffer. Edited by ROBERT L. TAYLOR. New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1898. 12mo, pp. xx+201.
- C. Histoire d'un Merle Blanc, par Alfred de Musset. Edited by the Misses Agnès Cointat and H. Isabelle Williams. New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1898. iv+50 pp.
- A. Among French grammars written in French and especially prepared for English speaking students, Prof. Magnenat's French Practical Course easily stands toward the top, if not indeed at the very head. The rules are carefully worded, and all the grammatical and syntactical peculiarities of French are thoroughly discussed, placing thereby this work on a par with other American grammars of the French language, A further advantage, in addition to this thoroughness, is that the statements are all made in French, being at first very simple, but becoming more difficult as the student progresses. A great desideratum in modern language teaching-conversational use of the tongue studied-is thus filled, without the unconditional employment of natural school methods, and also without taking time from the study of grammar and composition. Several French grammar writers have already made use of this method, but their works have

generally been so inferior to the grammars written in English, that modern language instructors in our colleges have hesitated to recommend them. There are changes which might easily be suggested in Prof. Magnenat's grammar, and his work may, in the future, be superseded by a better one, carrying out the same idea; but the fact remains that, just now, his publication is one of the most, some persons may even say, is the most satisfactory of its kind.

The part dealing with French pronunciation is written in English, as it should be, and exercises are scattered through the work. It might be suggested that there are too few of these exercises, a ready remedy being, however, the preparation of an exercise book to accompany the main work.

There is, nevertheless, one fact that should be mentioned especially, though it is somewhat foreign to the actual discussion of the grammar. A key has been published; and for whose benefit? For teachers? He is a strange teacher who would be willing to introduce French conversation into his classes, and yet feel the need of a key. If the key is prepared for this class of instructors, then all that need be said is that it is benefiting persons who should rather be discouraged. Is this key intended perhaps for students? The standing of the author, and also of the publishers, makes this supposition almost an insult. For whom then is this key? No satisfactory answer can be forthcoming, and this key, a positive blot in the estimation of modern language teachers, should therefore be destroyed, and destroyed before it can harm the work it accompanies, and may its complete obliteration be a warning!

It would be impossible to discover all the mistakes after merely glancing over this grammar. The following may, however, be mentioned. The er of fermer (p. 3) and that of hiver, enfer, etc. (p. 3), should not be printed in fat type in both cases, since the r is pronounced in the latter examples. The statement at the bottom of p. 4 should be that "o in final ose is pronounced, etc." Final r (p. 12) is not silent in such polysyllabic words as enfer, magister, etc. On p. 14 (middle) change "doubtful" to "double" or "two-fold." An

explanation should be given of what is meant by "masculine syllable" (p. 19, 12). It would seem better not to place the articles under the headings for adjectives (passim). A list should be made of all words which add x to ou in the plural (p. 30, 11). Why separate the exceptions to the regular formation of the feminine? F giving ve is mentioned on p. 30, while x becoming se is not given till p. 39. Before § 7 (p. 32) insert: Quand il n'y a pas de nom, as otherwise this paragraph would be included in § 5. The first line of p. 34, 3, is too indefinite. Premier and second should be mentioned as exceptions (p. 38, 3). The rule given on p. 39, 5, should be incorporated in that of p. 30, 15. Add hyphen between et and un, and et and unième (p. 46, 2), or else omit hyphens altogether. The feminine of public, etc. (p. 46, 8), should be stated as being phonetic. The partitive construction (p. 54, 16) should be more fully developed. Are not the rules of §§ 3 b and 4 (p. 58) identical? Write plus-que-parfait (pp. 59, 60) as on pp. 123 and 124. If a sentence "begins" with quel, how could the noun, etc., do anything else but precede the verb (p. 62, 3)? Does celui come from ce + lui, celle from ce + elle, ceux from ce + eux, celles from ce + elles (p. 95, 1)? It does not seem well to include the present subjunctive in the paradigm of the imperative (p. 96, 4). After la ire et la 20 pers. (p. 96, 6) add du pluriel. May not the first person singular of the present subjunctive be also used in an imperative sense? Read suivis for précédés (p. 102, 6), and it may be better to add quand le sujet est impersonnel to this paragraph. Insert iii. before pronom (p. 109, 1). The plural expression ce sont needs, for the explanation of its use, more than two examples (p. 110, 7). The statement in § 10 (p. 116) might be worded differently, since very much the same difference in meaning exists between "who," etc., and "which," etc., as between qui, que and lequel, etc. It should be noted that les soldats se sont battus (p. 145, 2) has two meanings: "the soldiers fought each other" and simply, "the soldiers fought." It is not quite correct to say (p. 151, 13) that the e of the infinitive ending ger is retained before a, o; the wording of this paragraph had better be changed. The preterit of venir might be given in full, on p. 117, 10, since it is a difficult tense to learn; every teacher is familiar with the supposed forms ventmes and venttes. The same remark applies to tenir (p. 186, 3), and it may also be added that it is a pity verbs that are conjugated alike are not placed near each other. The difference between il est né and il naquit (p. 211, 9) should be explained.

The subject matter in this grammar is, perhaps, a little scattered, but there is an index by which reference can be made to the paragraphs which treat the same questions. The use of this index would be much facilitated if the numbers of the lessons headed each page of the grammar, and also if its general headings were still further subdivided. But its most serious fault is that there are some wrong references, as under Nom; Nombre, iii, 11, 12 (for iii, 10, 11), and also that the chapters in the grammar are sometimes duplicated, as iii, on p. 29 and on p. 31, so that, for example, iii, 1 refers to two separate paragraphs. An index of irregular verbs is absolutely needed. Short vocabularies are interspersed in the text itself, and a French-English vocabulary ends the

Several changes must, therefore, be made before this grammar can be called perfect, but the reviewer cannot close without renewed congratulations both to Professor Magnenat and to all modern language instructors who may think it wise to make use of French in their classes-congratulations fully deserved, since the former has brought out a work, by the aid of which the latter can introduce conversational exercises into the class-room without wasting valuable time on short and inane sentences, so distasteful to most teachers.

B. For a year or more a soul may be said to have been wandering on the shelves of our studies, awaiting its incarnation. When a charming soul finally occupies a comely body, the result is most satisfactory. A charming story of Töpffer's has just been made accessible to students through Mr. Taylor's skill, after having at first appeared, for some strange reason, without either introduction or notes. The editor of La Bibliothèque de mon Oncle is in sympathy with his author, and his introduction is just the sort of introduction wanted by college students, while his notes are care-

fully prepared. Töpffer has not written much, and Mr. Taylor has, therefore, been able to give, in the few pages at his command, a thoroughly good idea of the author's life and influence. A prominent American editor was only recently complaining of the injustice of allowing twenty, or so, pages for introductory remarks on a man who had written but three or four stories, and yet of not granting more space to the consideration of such voluminous writers as Hugo, Balzac, and Zola. This editor is doubtless right, though publishers may quote the parable of the vineyard, whose workers were given one penny whether they had toiled all day or been engaged for an hour only. Dissatisfaction was naturally expressed by the former. The more, however, one thinks of this matter, the more grows the thought that, perhaps, the publishers are not altogether wrong, and that a concise but readable introduction, which students will study, is better than one over which they may merely skim. The whole point is this: an introduction should whet the appetite, not satisfy it. A learner should be induced to look further into the life and writings of the author read. If the introduction accomplishes this object, it has really done more good than if it had given the student the idea that he knows, after reading it, all that is worth knowing about the writer.

Attention may be called to a few changes which, in some cases, should, in others, might be made in a new edition of this text. Read mœurs for mærs and déjà for déjá in the passage cited on p. xvi. Mr. Taylor is rather hard on the age of Victor Hugo when he states (p. xvii) that it was "the age of the bouffon as well as the lachrymose." Lovers of the Romantic school may think him somewhat severe, and yet the editor, on the same page, speaks of this school as "our old friend." This is, however, worse and worse; "our old friend" sounds so patronizing; it suggests so vividly the patting on the shoulder of an old weeping buffoon. On p. xix, it is said that, in the sentence, qui, perdant l'équilibre, était tombée en répandant par la cham. bre les pinceaux, Töpffer varies the use of the present participle with and without en. It would seem rather that any careful French

writer for the sake of euphony would avoid using en twice in this short sentence. This could hardly be called a characteristic of Töpffer. Read quel for que on p. 62, l. 4. Read faute for faut on p. 157, l. 16. Change the syllabification of aider-ons to aide-rons on p. 170, l. 12. Read qu'elle for quelle on p. 176, l. 7.

The following observations may be made on the notes, which with these few exceptions, do the editor credit. Does verrue (p. 13, l. 27) mean "mole?" Isn't it rather "wart?" Why translate hanneton (p. 14, l. 6)? Ouvrage means "task" rather than "fault;" if any idea of blame is contained in this sentence, the rendering "doing" would seem appropriate. Does the editor consider ôta à moi (p. 65, 1. 13) a correct French expression? Why translate un vasc de capucines (p. 70, 1. 26)? Read était for etait (p. 73, l. 31). The note to p. 74, l. 5, would not be clear to a student. The note on de (p. 79, 1. 3) is not complete, as the de in such a phrase as aimé de lui could not be explained by the statement that the action is not definitely limited, a correct enough explanation, perhaps, of such clauses as connu de quelques érudits. Read espérerais for espèrerais (p. 95, 1. 18). Is it quite right to say (p. 99, l. 1) that Old French "decayed" after the fourteenth century, and that from this "decay" came Modern French? Phonetic changes show development rather than decay. Read camarde for camarade (p. 106, 1. 3). Read très for tres (p. 111, 1. 11). As many students who will read this text have not had Latin, it might be useful to translate all Latin passages, as on p. 112, l. 1, etc. The Arve (p. 112, l. 19), when it joins the Rhône, is south of Geneva, but the Salève is rather to the east of that city. Why translate in full the conversation on p. 129? In d'aller droit mon chemin (p. 154, l. 28), droit is felt now to be an adverb, accompanying therefore the verb aller, in which case there would be no metathesis for d'aller mon droit chemin.

It is pleasant to review a text edited by a teacher as careful as Mr. Taylor. The few mistakes that have slipped in by no means mar the appreciation felt for an American work ably prepared.

C. The introduction to the *Histoire d'un Merle Blanc*, very concise and covering little

more than one page, is written by Miss Williams. It might have been made somewhat longer, in view of de Musset's position in French literature. At any rate, a few observations, bearing directly on the text which follows, would not have been amiss, especially as this story is more than the simple autobiography of a small bird. The fragmentary comments found in the notes might have been more useful in the introduction, where they would have formed a more complete whole. Miss Williams' few introductory remarks are bright enough to prove her quite able to successfully undertake a more ambitious introduction. There are, however, times when too little is better than too much.

The misprints in the text are few. On p. 13, l. 13, read quelle for qu'elle; p. 15, l. 28, as for a; p. 33, l. 12, être for être; p. 39, l. 20, trouvai for trovuai. The division of words might be altered in four cases. The first two changes may be disputed, but croy-ais and ennuy-eux seem better than cro-yais (p. 17, l. 5) and ennu-yeux (p. 17, l. 5). The last two changes should, however, be made: pu-blierai and pu-blic, instead of pub-lierai (p. 28, l. 20) and pub-lic (p. 29, l. 22). The rules for the division of syllables are stricter in French than in English, and editors should be correspondingly more careful in following them.

The notes are all prepared with care, and are not superfluous, except perhaps in a few cases. Is the translation of the following passages really needed? Quand vint le temps de ma première mue (p. 2, 1. 30); qui vous donnent l'air d'un marguillier en train d'avaler une omelette (p. 4, 1. 8), which the editors merely translate literally; une certaine nuit qu'il pleuvait à verse (p. 6, 1. 18), where the explanation of que is however à propos; courir comme la flèche à un but marqué qui ne nous échappe jamais (p. 6, 1. 28); mon isolement pour être glorieux ne m'en semblait pas moins pénible (p. 33, 1. 11), where pour and en had better be explained separately.

Care should be taken to make the translation correspond with the words actually quoted in the notes. Avoir l'air (p. 9, 1. 18) does not mean "so as to seem;" chanter à tue-tête (p. 16, 1. 12) means more than simply "at the top of my voice;" "he is inexperienced" is not

the full rendering of on dirait qu'il est né d'hier (p. 18, 1. 28), nor is "all at once" the complete meaning of imprimée tout d'une venue (p. 30, l. 17).

Ne laissait pas que de m'attrister (p. 17, 1. 12) might also be explained, if an explanation of mais ne laissez pas de faire (p. 18, l. 22) is deemed necessary; in this note etonner should be étonner. À cause de would not be the modern rendering of à cause que, on p. 20, 1. 12; parce que is the modern phrase in this particular case. Instead of translating the whole sentence containing the conditional sauraient (p. 26, l. 24), it would be better to mention and explain the fact that the conditional of savoir may have the same meaning as the conditional of pouvoir. Does mecontent (p. 33, l. 4) strictly mean "misunderstood"?

The above possible corrections aside, the notes show that the editors are in sympathy with the author of the story they have edited, and that they have done their work with care and good judgment.

Princeton University.

EDWIN S. LEWIS.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE TREATMENT OF NATURE IN WISTASSE LE MOINE.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES,

SIRS:-The following verses taken from the roman d'aventure of Wistasse le Moine may be taken as additional proof that the audiences of the Middle Ages were not dull to the appreciation of out-door nature, even when elaborately and artistically introduced.

Wistasse, who is a sort of French Robin Hood, after stealing his horses, has been leading the Count of Boulogne a weary chase, and has succeeded in eluding him by resorting to various disguises: now appearing as a charcoal burner and again as a potter. After narrowly escaping capture, Wistasse taunts his foe as described in the following passage.1

> En . j. nit d'escoufie est montés. Wistasces li escervelés Illuecques se fist loussignol. Bien tenoit le conte per fol.

1 See verses 1140-1172 of Wendelin Förster's Wistasse le Moine, Halle, 1891.

Quant voit le conte trespasser, Wistasces commenche a criër: "Ochi! ochi! ochi! ochi!" Et li quens Renaus respondi : "Je l'ocirai, par saint Richier! Se je le puis as mains ballier.' "Fier! fier!" dist Wistasces li moigne. "Par foi!" dist li quens de Bouloigne, "Si ferai jou, je le ferai, Ja en cel liu ne le tenrai." Wistasces rest asearés, Si se rest .ij. mos escrīés: "Non l'ot! si et! non l'et! si et!" Quant li quens de Bouloigne l'ot, "Certes si ot." che dist li quens; "Tolu m'a tous mes chevals buens." Wistasces s'escria: "Hui! hui!" "Tu dis bien," dist li quens; "c'est hui Que je l'ocirai a mes maius." Dist li quens: "Il n'est mie fol Ki croit conseil de loussignol. Li loussignos m'a bien apris A vengier de mes anemis, Car li loussignos si m'escrie Que je le fiere et que l'ochie." Dont s'esmut li quens de Bouloigne Por sievir Wistasce le moigne.

The English rendering might be:

Up into a kite's nest Wistasse has mounted. There the fickle Wistasse made himself into a nightingale. Full well he held the Count for a fool.

When he sees the Count pass by, Wistasse begins to cry out:

"Kill! Kill! Kill! Kill!" And Count Renaut replies:

"I will kill him, by Saint Richier! If I can get him into my hands."
"Strike! Strike!" said Wistasse the monk.
"By my faith!" said the Count of Boulogne, "I will strike him, I will strike him, but not in this place now shall I find him."

Wistasse feels safe again and cries out two words:

"He missed him! he had him! he missed him! he had him!

him! he had him!"
When the Count of Boulogne hears this,
"Certainly he had him," said the Count; "he
has taken all my good horses."
Wistasse cried out; "To-day! to-day!"
"Thou sayest right," said the Count; it will
be to-day that I will kill him with my hands."
Said the Count: "He is no fool who follows
the advice of a nightingale. The nightingale
has well taught me how to take vengeance on
my enemy; for the nightingale calls out to me my enemy; for the nightingale calls out to me that I shall strike him and kill him."

Then the Count of Boulogne moved on to follow after Wistasse the monk.

Ou mois de mai qu'este commence Que cil arbre cueillent semence Que cler chantent parmi le gaut L'oriol et le papegaut.^I

In the passage quoted from Wistasse le Moine, however, there is something more than the mere mention of a nightingale's song. There is not a little psychological interest. The author has wrought the Count of Boulogne into such a susceptible mood that he interprets the simple notes of the nightingale as rendered by this joking Wistasse, in accordance with his own revengeful train of thought. More fanciful than what we are accustomed to find in mediæval poetry, this device here does much to increase the humor of the situation. We have all been in a frame of mind when the sounds about us have a special significance. It would be interesting to hear of parallel passages in mediæval literature where resort is had to a dialogue between a man and an animal after the fashion of this conversation between the Count of Boulogne and Wistasse the monk, impersonating the nightingale.

W. W. COMFORT.

Haverford College.

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L'ALLIANCE FRANÇAISE.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes,

SIRS:—The two sessions of the Alliance Française at Paris during the months of July and August were marked by larger attendance and more advanced courses than any previous session. The United States was fairly well represented, and teachers of French from all parts of Europe took advantage of the privileges offered. During the July session the Germanic group outnumbered either the Anglo-American, the Slav, or the International, but the August session found the Anglo-American the strongest.

The Alliance had stately quarters for its lectures at the École Coloniale in the Avenue de l'Observatoire, where, in the center of student Paris, the members had every opportunity and

3 Verses 3-4 of Branche xvii in Henri Martin's edition.

encouragement for their work.

As might have been expected, the courses were far from being of equal value, but a certain freedom of election was allowed even to the candidates for a diploma, and this liberty enabled all participants to concentrate their efforts on the subjects they considered most suited to their individual needs.

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Among the lecturers were men of ability and scholarly reputation. The director, M. Ferdinand Brunot, proved himself an efficient administrator, and gave a set of lectures on Historical French Grammar. His ability as a teacher is in no way inferior to his power as a writer.

A brilliant course of lectures was given by M. René Doumic, the eminent critic. He treated the Literature of the Nineteenth Century in a way that delighted his audience, while his clear insight and careful analysis put system into the chaotic abundance of the materials. Always clear and logical, always enthusiastic, even when most severe in his criticism, M. Doumic by his style and manner made himself a universal favorite.

The course in Phonetics was one of the most important. The Abbé Rousselot and M. Zund-Burguet, eminent authorities on this subject, gave instruction of great value to those attending the course. The Abbé Rousselot gave the general lectures, after which the practical and experimental work was directed by M. Zund-Burguet, a separate class being formed for each group of nationalities.

There were offered each month ten different courses, embracing the subjects best suited to the needs of teachers of French in foreign lands. The summer sessions of the Alliance have now attained the rank of a university summer school, and the policy of meeting the wants of the greatest number will doubtless draw each year more and more teachers of French to hear its lecturers. At the annual banquet, the Director announced the intention of offering next year a larger variety of courses, and of permitting more freedom of election. This will tend to give to the Alliance still more of the character of a university summer school, and will meet more fully the desire of American teachers of French.

EDGAR E. BRANDON.

Miami University.

OUR COMMON LANGUAGE.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES,

SIRS:—"Apart from the usual Americanisms familiar to English readers, there are some novel and amusing expressions in the text. A few which deal with details of costume may be quoted. Thus we hear of 'young women in shirt-waists and sailor hats, and young men in flannel outing suits,' and of 'baskets of freshly laundered clothes,' and of 'a pretty waist of pale silk.' After all, these phrases may be quite native to California, or even to Los Angeles, and have nothing in common with America at large." The Athenæum, Sept. 10, 1898.

I send you the above with the hope that some American, versed in the English language, may be willing to translate these "novel and amusing expressions" into the speech which the descendants of Shakespere's compatriots have substituted for that of their ancestors.

But if we do not use their language, they do not think our thoughts; as the following specimen of conjectural semantic from the Athenæum of Sept. third may exemplify:

"Dr. is described as 'Instructor in Rhetoric.' Whether this is equivalent to 'tutor' at Oxford or Cambridge, or whether it is a Western title for 'professor' we do not know; but it is possible that, as quack doctors and barbers style themselves 'professors' throughout the West, it may have been determined to substitute 'instructor' for the abused and depreciated title."

ANDREW INGRAHAM.

The Swain Free School.

BROWNE'S REVIEW OF HIMES'S MILTON.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES,

Sirs:—It becomes an author, I suppose, when the reviewers are at work upon his books to hold his peace, take the sour with the sweet, and try to learn something from all. But when a direct challenge to explain himself is flung at him he cannot well refuse to take it up. For this reason I notice Prof. Browne's question, though my book itself would answer it for any but a very careless reader.

Before coming to the question, however, I wish to correct some mistakes and misstatements of the reviewer. The one thing that he undertakes to tell us about Milton, namely, that the poet identifies Mammon with Mulciber,

is an error. For evidence I appeal to Milton himself and to "his original," Spenser, and not to the commentators. The two spirits are no more identical than the philanthropic millionaire is identical with the architect who constructed the university building in which Professor Browne teaches.

Because the Apocalypse has been a treasurehouse for cranks, the critic proceeds on the assumption that any one who finds any truth in that part of Scripture belongs to that fraternity. Milton, however, did not disparage that book, but spoke of it with admiration as "the majestic image of a high and stately tragedy." The reviewer continues to believe "that the narrative in Genesis and the ancient tradition of the fall of the angels furnished the poet with his subject." Why "tradition"? Does not Professor Browne know that this "tradition" is itself drawn from the discredited book? If the "tradition," occupying with its consequences about as much space in the poem as the narrative in Genesis, has been taken from the Apocalypse, why should it be deemed incredible that the outline or germ of the whole poem may be discovered in the same writing? What dictate of good sense forbids accepting the idea of finding here a scheme which subordinates to itself both the story of Genesis and the "tradition"? By the courtesy of the editors I am permitted, if it should seem desirable, to present this matter in a future issue of the Notes.

When the professor begins to quote, I recognize some of my words but none of my ideas. Things are joined that were never intended to be. The reviewer seems to imagine that in presenting the opinions of another a centaur is just as good as a horse and a man. I thought it fairly sane when I said that given Mammon. the spirit of Wealth, and Mulciber, the spirit of Art, and their helpers, the product was Pandemonium, a capitol fashioned after the Roman Pantheon. I thought as much when I declared on abundant evidence that the scenery in the first book of Paradise Lost is an imitation of what in Classic times belonged to the west coast of Italy; likewise, when I drew independently from scores of passages all through the poem that Satan was identified with the classical Apollo; likewise, when I

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inferred from other facts that the government established in Pandemonium over Hell was intentionally identified by the Protestant poet with the sway over the world by imperial and papal Rome.

Though aware of the futility of explaining where the questioner does not wish to understand, I add a few words to my note on Par-Lost ii, 880, which Professor Browne quotes:—

"Recoil. After long detention in the 'iron furnace' of Egypt the children of Israel were thrust out (Exod. xi. 1). The recoil of Hellgates is like the sudden urgency of the Egyptians after their sullen resistance."

Hell is spoken of as "a furnace of fire" (Matt. xiii. 42); Egypt as an "iron furnace" (Deut. iv. 20). Other notes show that in this particular part of the poem Egypt furnishes a number of the features of Milton's Hell. The poem itself contains plainer references that no one will dispute. The justification for this Milton seems to have derived from Rev. xi. 8. The recoil of Hell-gates from the lock allegorically expresses the temper of the Egyptians upon which depended the escape of the Israelites from the iron furnace of their oppression. These hints will be sufficient to those who can interpret allegory.

Pennsylvania College.

JOHN A. HIMES.

A STATUE OF THE YOUTHFUL GOETHE AT STRASSBURG.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES,

SIRS:—The approaching celebration of Goethe's one hundred and fiftieth birthday has given rise to a plan which, conceived by members of the faculty of Strassburg University, should obtain the support and coöperation of all the friends of German literature. It was in Strassburg that Goethe first became fully himself. Here the greatness of mediæval art first dawned upon him. Here the love for Friederike brought out for the first time his lyric genius. Here he planned "Götz von Berlichingen" and "Faust." It is eminently fitting, then, that in Strassburg his memory should be honored by a statue representing him in the first glow and joyfulness of youth.

A large number of distinguished scholars,

under the lead of the Grand Duke of Weimar, have taken the matter in hand, and it is hoped that by August 28, 1899, a sum will have been brought together sufficient to insure a worthy execution of this worthy plan. American admirers of Goethe who wish to take part in it are asked to send their contributions either to Prof. J. P. Hatfield, Evanston, Ill., or to Prof. Horatio S. White, Ithaca, N. Y., or to the undersigned.

KUNO FRANCKE.

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Harvard University.

BRIEF MENTION.

The next annual meeting of the Modern Language Association of America will be held at the University of Virginia, Charlottes ville, Va., December 27, 28, 29, 1898. The Central Division of the Association will meet at the same time at the University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb. The first session of the meeting at the University of Virginia will be held on Tuesday December 27, at 8 o'clock p. m., to hear President Fortier's address on "Social and historical forces in French Literature." Among the papers which will be read are "La Vie de Ste. Catharine d'Alexandrie as contained in the Paris MS. La Clayette." By H. A. Todd.—"Luis de León, the Spanish poet, humanist, and mystic." By J. D. M. Ford.—"Lemercier and the Three Unities." By John R. Ellinger, Jr.—"The influence of the return of Spring on the earliest French lyric poetry." By W. S. Symington, Jr.—"The origin and meaning of 'Germani' (Tac. Germ. 2)." By A. Gudeman.—"German American ballads." By M. D. Learned.—"The sources of Opitz's Buch von der deutschen Poeterei." By T. S. Baker.—"Some tendencies in English contemporary poetry. By C. Weygandt.—"From Franklin to Lowell, a century of New England pronunciation." By C. H. Grandgent.—"Transverse alliteration in Teutonic poetry." By O. F. Emerson.—"The origin of the Runic Alphabet, and the explanation of the peculiar order of the runes." By G. Hempl.—"The International Correspondence," By E. H. Magill.—"Adversative-conjunctive relations." By R. H. Wilson.

An important feature of the meeting will be

An important feature of the meeting will be the final report of the Committee of Twelve, appointed to consider the position of the Modern Languages (German and French) in Secondary Education.

It is expected that all persons attending the meeting will be invited to visit Monticello, the home of Thomas Jefferson, on Wednesday afternoon, December 28.



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KOEHLER & CO., C. A., 149 A, Tremont Street, Boston, Mass. Importers and Publishers of Foreign Books. Nov., 1898.

LEMCKE & BUECHNER, 812 Broadway, New York. Monthly Bulletin of World-Literature. Nos. 9 and 10, Sep. and Oct., 1898.

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